



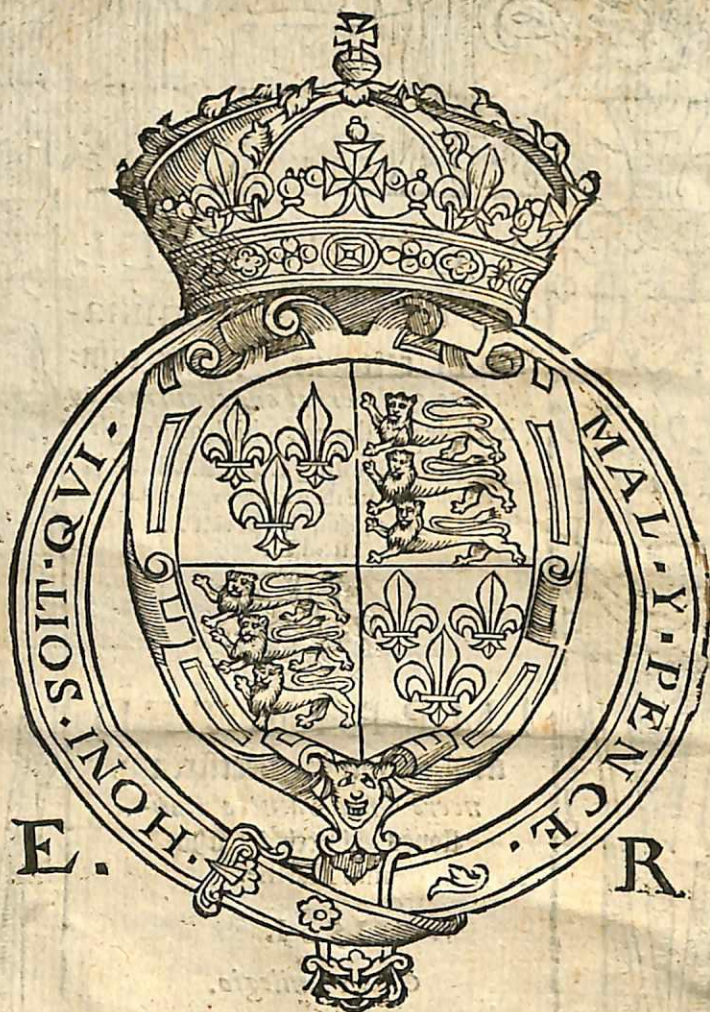
A COMPENDI-
ous or brieſe examina-
tion of certayne ordinary com-
plaints, of diuers of our country men
in theſe our dayes : which although
they are in ſome part vniuſt & fri-
uolous, yet are they all by vway of dia-
logues thoroughly debated &
diſcuſſed.

By W. S.
Gentleman.

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1581.

Cum Priuilegio.



TO THE MOST VER-
tuous and learned Lady, my most

deare and Soueraigne Princess *ELI-*

ZABETH, by the Grace of GOD,

Queene of England, Fraunce, and

Ireland: Defendresse of the

Fayth. &c.



Hereas there was neuer anye
thing hearde of in any age past
hetherunto, so perfectly wrought
and framed, eyther by Arte or
Nature, but that it hath at some
time, for some forged and surmy-
sed matter, sustayned the repre-
hension of some enuious persons

or other: I doe not much meruayle most mighty Pryn-
cesse that in this your so noble & famous a gouernment,
(the Glory whereof is now longe sithence scattered and
spread ouer the whole face of the Earth,) there are not-
withstanding certayne euill disposed people, so blinded
with malice, and subdued, to their owne parciall Con-
ceiptes: that as yet they canneyther spare indifferente
iudgements to conceyue, or reuerent tongues to reporte
a known truth, touching the perfection of the same. But
for these men, as they are (no doubt) sufficiently refuted
by the testimonies of their owne consciences: so are they
most certainly condemned by the common consent of
all such, as are wyse or indifferent. And although this be
of it selfe so cleare and manyfeste that it cannot bee deni-
ed, yet could not I forbear (most renowned soueraigne)
being as it were inforced, by your Maiesties late & sin-
gular clemency, in pardoninge certayne my vndutifull
misdemeanour, but seeke to acknowledge your gracious
goodnesse and bounty towardes me, by exhibiting vnto
you this small and simple present: wherein as I haue in-

**

deuou-

the Epistle

denoured in fewe wordes to aunswere certayne quarells
and obiections, dayly and ordinarily occurrent in the
talke of sundry men, so doe I most humbly craue your
Graces fauourable acceptation thereof; protestinge also
with all humility, that my meaninge is not in the dis-
course of these matters heere disputed, to define ought,
which may in any wise sounde preiudiciall to any pub-
licke authority, but only to alleadge such probability as
I coulde, to stop the mouthes of certayne euill affected
persons, which of their curiosity require farther satis-
faction in these matters, then can well stand with good
modesty. Wherefore as vpon this zeale & good meaning
towards your estate, I was earnestly moued to vndertake
this enterprise, and in the handling thereof rather con-
tent to shewe my selfe vnkilfull to others, the vnthank-
full to you: so presuminge of your auncient accustomed
clemency, I was so bold to comit the same to your gra-
cious protection, fully perswading and assuring my self,
that it would generally obtayne the better credit & en-
tertainment among others, if your Maiesties name were
prefixed, ad it were a most rich Iewell and rare Ornament
to beautifie and commend the same. God preserve your
Maesty with infinit increase of all his blessings bestow-
ed vpon you, and graunt that your dayes of life here vp-
on the earth may be extended (if it be his good will) euē
far beyonde the ordinary course of Nature: that as you
haue already sufficiently rayghned for your owne honour
and glory to last withall posterities: so you may cōtinew
and remaine with vs many more yeares, euen to the full
contentation (if it may so be) of vs your louing subiects,
and to the perfect establishing of this flourishing peace &
tranquillity in your cōmon weale for euer.

Y O U R M A I E S T I E S

most faythfull, and
louing Subiects

W. S.

A Table of thynges

most notable contained
in this Booke.



That no man is a straunger to the Commons
vveale that he is in. 1.2

That of many heads is gathered a perfect coun-
sayle. 1.b

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arre. 1.b

Why the Booke is made by vway of dialogue
2.2

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the ſecōd di-
alogue.

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FINIS.

**A Brieue conceipte touching
THE COMMON WEALE
OF THIS REALME
OF ENGLANDE.**



CONSIDERING THE diuerse & sundry complaynts of our countrymen in these our dayes, touching the greate alteration of this comonwealth, within the compasse of these fewe yeares lately past: I thoughte good at this tyme to sette downe such probable discourse for occasion hereof, as I haue hearde oftentimes uttered by men of sound learning & deepe iudgment. And albeit I am not one to whom the consideration and reformation of the same doth effectually belong: yet knowing my selfe to be a Member of the same Commonweale, and to further it by all the wayes that possibly I may: I cannot reckon and account my selfe a meere strainger to this matter, no more then a man that were in a Shippe, which being in danger of wracke, might say: that because he is not (percase) the maister or Pilot of the same, the danger thereof doth pertayne nothinge at all to him. Therefore hauinge nowe sufficient leasure from other businesse, mee thoughte I coulde not apply my study to a better end then to publish & make relation of such matters as I haue hearde throughly disputed heerein.

Firste, what thinges men are most grieued with, then, what should be the occasion of the same: And that knowne how such grieues may bee taken away, and the state of the Common weale reformed agayne. And albeit yee mighte well say, that there bee men of greater wittes then I that

A.

haue

No man is a
straunger to
the commo-
weale he is
in.

A brieue Conceipte

Haue that matter in charge, yet Fooles (as the Proverbe is) sometimes speake to the purpose; and as many heads, so many wittes, and therefore Princes, though they be neuer so wyle themselves, (as our most excellent Prince is) yet the wiser that they be, the more counsellors they will haue, (as our noble & gracious Queene doth dayly make choise of more) for that, that one cannot perceiue, another doth discouer: the gifts of wits be so diuerse, that some excell in Memory, some in Inuention, some in Iudgement, some at first sight ready, & some after long consideration: though each of these by them selues do not seuerally make perfect the matter, yet when euery man brings in his gift, a meane witted man may of all (the best of euery mans deuise being gathered together) make as it were a pleasant and perfect Garland, to adorne & Decke his head with all.

Of many
heades is gathered
thered a perfect
counsel.

That euery
man is to be
credited in
his owne

Therefore I woulde not onely haue Learned men, whose Iudgements I woulde wishe to be chiefly esteemed herein, but also Merchantmen, Husbandmen, & Artificers: which in their callings are taken wise: freely suffered, & prouoked to tel their aduises in this matter. For in some pointes of their seates, they may disclose that, which is wyldest in a Realme cannot vnsould againe. And it is a Maxime, or a thing receiued as an infallible verity among all men, that euery man is to be credited in that arte that he is most exercised in. For did not Apelles that excellent Painter consider, that when hee layde forth his fine Image of Venus to be seene of euery man that past by, to the intent hee hearing euery mans iudgement in his owne Arte, might alwayes amend that was a misse in his work: whose Censures hee allowed so longe as they kept them within their owne faculties, and tooke not vpon them to meddle wylth another mans Arte? So percase I may be answered as he was, yet I refuse not that, if I passe my compasse: but

for as

For as much as most of this matter containeth Policy, or good government of a commonweale: being a Member of Philosophy morale, wherein I haue somewhat studied: I shall bee so bould with my countrey men (who I doubt not will confesse euery thinge to the best) as to utter my poore and simple conceipte herein, which I haue gathered out of the Talke of diuerse and sundry notable men that I haue heard reason on this matter: and though I shoulde herein percase mooue some thinges that were openly not to bee touched, as in such cases of disceptation is requisite, yet hauing respect to what ende they bee spoken, I trust they can offend no man: for hard were it to heale a soare & a man woulde not haue opened to his Philition, nor yet a surfet that a man would not declare the occasion thereof.

Therefore nowe to goe to the matter, bypon bouldnesse of your good acceptation, that kinde of reasoning seemeth to mee best for bouldinge out of the truth, which is vsed by way of Dialogues, or Colloquies, where Reasons bee made too and froe, as well for the matter intended as a gainst it: I thought best to take that way in the discourse of this matter: which, is first in recounting the common and Uniuersall Griues that men complayne on now a dayes: secondly in bouldinge out the very Causes and Occasions of them: thirdly, and finally in deuising of Remedies for all the same. Therefore I will declare vnto you what communication a Knight had betwene him and certayne other persons of late aboute this matter: which because it happened betwene such persons as were Members of ebery state, that finde themselves griued now a dayes: I thought it not meete to bee forgotten, to let you vnderstande that the persons were these: a Knight as I sayd first, a Marchauntman, a Doctor, a Husbandman, and a Craftes man. And first, the Knight rehearsed the communication in this manner ensuing.

Why the Booke is made by way of Dialogue.

The sum of the whole Booke.

A brieſe Conceipte

THE FIRST DI-

A LOGVE.

Knight.



After I and my Fellowes the Iuſtices of peace of this Comminalty, had the other day declared ſ^r Queenes highneſſe commiſſion touching diuers matters, & giuen the charge to th'enqueſt: I being both weary of the heate of the People & noyle of the ſame; thought to ſteale to a

friendes houſe of myne in the towne which ſelleth Wyne, to the intent to eate a morſell of meate, for I was then faſting, taking with me an honeſt huſbandman, whom for his honeſty and good diſcretion I loued very wel: whether as wee were come & had but ſkante ſet downe in a cloſe Par- loure, there cometh me in a Marchaunt man of that city, a man of eſtimation and ſubſtañce, and requirerth the ſayd Huſbandman to goe and dyne with him: nay (quoth I) hee will not I truſt now forſake my cōpany, though he ſhould fare better with you.

Marchaunt.

Then (quoth the Marchaunte man) I will ſend home for a paſty of Veniſon that I haue there, and for a friend of mine, and a Neighbour that I had bid to dinner, and wee ſhall be ſo boude as to make merry withall heere in your company, and as for my Gueſt. hee is no ſtraunger vnto you neyther. And therefore both hee of youres, and you of his company, I truſt will bee the gladder.

Knight.

Who is it?

Marchaunt.

Doctoꝝ Pandotheus.

Knight.

Iſ he ſo, on my faith he ſhalbe heartely welcome, for of him we ſhal haue ſome good cōmunication and wiſe, for he is noted a learned and a wiſe man. And immediately ſ^r Marchaunt ſendeth for him, and he cometh vnto vs, & bringeth

geth

geth with him an honest man a Tapper of the same towne, who came to speake with the sayd Marchaunte; then after salutations had (as yee knowe the maner is) betweene me and maister Doctor, and renewing of olde acquaintance which had bene long before betweene vs, we sat all downe, and when we had eate somewhat to satisfie the sharpnesse of our stomackes,

On my faith (quoth the Doctor) to me, yee make much adoe, you that bee Iustices of the Peace of euery Countrey, in sitting vpon Commissions almost weekly, and in causing poore men to appeare before you, leauinge their husbandry vntooken to at home.

Surely it is so. Yet the Prince must bee serued, and the Common weale, for God and the Prince haue not lent vs the poore liuings that wee haue, but to do Service therfore, abroade amonge our Neighboures.

It is well if yee take it so, for Nature hath grafted by perswasion in you, and all other that followeth the cleare light of Nature. As learned men haue remembred, saying: we be not borne onely to our selues, but partely to the vse of our Countrey, of our Parentes, of our Kindfolkes, and partely of our Friendes and Neighboures, and therefore all good vertues are grafted in vs naturally. Whose effects be to doe good to other: wherein we shew forth the Image of God in Man, whose property is euer to doe good to other, & to distribute his goodnesse abroade: like to no Image, nor enuyous of any other creatures. As they resemble nothing of that goodly Image, so they study no common vility of other, but only the conseruation of them selues, and propagation of their owne kynde. Therefore, if wee looke to be reckned most vnto like them, being most vile: and likeliest to God being most excellent: let vs study to do good to other, not preferring the ease of this Carcasse which is like the Beaste, but rather the vertues of mynde

Doctor.

Knight.

Doctor.

Plato, & Cicero.

That men are not borne to them selues onely.

A brieft Concept

husband.

wherein wee bee like **GOD** him selfe. Then (sayd **h** husbandman) for all your paynes (meaning by me) & all ours also, I woulde yee had nener worse Commissions in hande then this is: So wee had lost more dayes workes at our husbandry then this.

'Knight.

Why so?

Husband.

Complaynt of
Inclosiers by
Husbandmen.

Wary for these Inclosiers doe vndoe vs all, for they make vs to pay dearer for our lande that we occupy, & causeth that we can haue no lande in maner for our money to put to Tillage, all is taken vp for Pasture: for Pasture either for Sheepe, or for Grauinge of Cattell: in so much that I haue knowne of late a dozen ploughes within lesse compasse then fife Wyles about mee, layde downe within this leue yeares: and where threescore persons or vppwarde had their livings, now one man with his Cattell hath all, which thinge is not the leaste cause of former byzozes: for by these Inclosiers many doe lacke livings and be poore, & therefore for very necessity they are desirous of a chaunge, being in hope to come thereby to somewhat, and well assured that how so euer it befall with them, it can be no harder with them then it was before: more ouer all things are so deere **h** by their day wages they are not able to liue.

Capper.

Complaynt of
dearth of vit-
tayle by Arti-
ficers.

I haue well the experieace thereof, for I am faine to geue my Iourneyment two pence in a day more the I was wont to doe, and yet they say they cannot sufficiently lyue thereon. And I knowe for truth, that the best husband of them can saue but litle at the yeares ende: and by reason of such dearth as yee speake of, wee that are Artificers, are able to keepe but fewe or no Prentizes like as wee were wonte to doe, and therefore Cities which were heretofore well Inhabited and Wealthy, (as yee knowe euery one of you) are now for lacke of Occupiers fallen to great povertie and desolation.

Marchaunt.

So be **h** most parte of all **h** towne of England, London one,

Don onely except, and not onely the good townes are soe de-
sared in their Houses, Walles, Streates, and other build-
ings: but also the countrey in their high wayes & By-
ges: for such pouerty ragueneth euery where, that few men
haue so much to spare as they may geue any thinge to the re-
paration of such wayes, Bridges, and other common ease-
ments. And albeit there be many things layde downe now
which before time were occasions of much Expences: as
Maygames, Wakes, Reuels, wages at shootinge, wrest-
ling, running, and throwing the stone, or barre, & besides
that, Wardons, Pilgrimages, Offerings, and many such o-
ther thinges, yet I perceiue we bee neuer the wealthier,
but rather poorer, whereof it is longe I cannot well tell:
for ther is such a generall dearth of al thinges as before, xx.
or. xxx. yeares hath not bene the like, not onely of thinges
growing within this Realme, but also of all other Mar-
chaundize that we buy from beyonde the Sea: as Silkes,
Wynes, Dyles, Woade, Wadder, Iron, Steele, Wape,
Flaxe, Linnen cloth, Fustians, Wofsteddes, Couerlets,
Carpets, and all Hearles, & Tapestry: Spices of all sorte
and al Haberdasher ware, as Paper both white & browne,
Glasses as well drinckinge, as looking, and for glasinge of
Windows: Pinnes, Needles, Kniues, Daggers, Hats,
Cappes, Broches, Buttons, and Laces. I wot well all
these doe cost nowe more by the thirde parte then they did
but fewe yeares agoe. Then all kinde of Wittayle are as
deere or deerer agayne, and no cause of Gods part thereof
as farre as I can perceaue, for I neuer sawe more plenty
of Corne, Grasse, and Cattell of all sorte, then we haue at
this present, and haue had (as yee know) all these twenty
yeares passed continually, thanked bee our Lorde God: if
these Inclosiers were cause thereof, or any other thing els,
it were pity but they might be remooued.

Since yee haue plenty of all thinges, of Corne, & Cat. Knight.
cell Cas.

Complaynt of
townes by
Marchauntes
& of all other
common ease-
ments.

Many superflu-
ous chaiges
layde downe
and yet neuer
the more ylen-
ty.

Dearth of our
vyarde Mar-
chaundize.

Dearth of all
kinde of vits-
cayle.

A brieft Concept

To my selfe

To my selfe

To my selfe

That Inco-

siders be not the

cause of this

dearth.

To my selfe

To my selfe

That Gentle-

men feeble most

griefe by this

dearth.

To my selfe

To my selfe

To my selfe

Husband.

To my selfe

To my selfe

To my selfe

Marchaunt.

To my selfe

To my selfe

The coplaynte

of Craftsmen

against Gentle

men for taking

of Farmes.

tell, (as yee say) the it should not seeme this dearth should
 be longe of these Inclosures, for it is not for scarcenesse of
 Corne y^e yee haue this dearth: for thanked be God Corne
 is good cheape, and so hath bene these many yeres past co-
 continually. Then it cannot bee the occasion of the dearth of
 Cattell, for Inclosure is the thing that nourisheth most of
 any other: yet I confesse there is a wonderfull dearth of all
 thinges, and that doe I, and all men of my sorte feeble most
 griefe in, which haue no way to sell, or Occupation to lyue
 by, but onely our landes: For you all thre (I meane) you
 my neighbour the husbandman, you maister Percer, and
 you Goodman Capper, wth other Artificers may saue your
 selues meetely well: Forasmuch as all thinges are deere
 then they were, so much doe you arise in the pryce of your
 wares and occupations that yee sell agayne. But we haue
 nothing to sell whereby we might aduance y^e pryce there-
 of, to counteruaille those things that we must buy againe.
 Yes yee raise the pryce of your Landes, and you take
 Fermes also and pastures to your hāds, (which was wont
 to bee poore mens lyuings such as I am) and haue giuen
 ouer to liue onely vpon your Landes.

On my soule yee say truth (quoth the Marchaunte) &
 the Capper also sayde no lesse, addinge thereto that it was
 neuer merry with poore Crafts men, since Gentlemen be-
 came Graziers, for they cannot now a dayes (sayd he) finde
 theyr Wrentizes and seruantes meate and drinke, but it
 cost them almost double as much as did before time: where
 fore where many of mine occupation and other like, here-
 tofore haue died riche men, and bene able to leaue honestly
 behinde them for their Wives and Children, and besides y^e
 leaue some notable bequests for some good dedde, as to the
 making of Bridges, & repaying of highwayes, all which
 thinges goe to wracke now euery where. Also some were
 wont to buy Land either for to helpe the poore beginners
 of th^e oc

of the occupations: yea, some time they had such superfluity as they coulde ouer such bequesties leaue another Portion to finde a wyffe, or to founde a Chauntry in some Paryshe Church, and now we are skant able to liue without debte, or to keepe few seruauents or none, except it be one Wretche or two. And therefore the Iourneyemen what of oure occupations, and what of Clothyers, and all other occupations: being forced to be without worke, are the most part of these rude people that maketh these vyces abode, to the great disquiet not onely of the Queenes highnes, but also of her people. And neede as ye know hath no boot.

The craftesman
complaine that
he cannot set
men a worke
for the dearth
of victaile.

It is true, yee knowe likewise what other notable Marchauntes men of myne occupation haue done in this City. Before this yee knowe the hospitall at the townes end, wherein the free men decayed are releued, how it was founded not longe agoe by one of our occupation, supplying thereby the city should bee much releued, which then was in some decay, and yet it decayeth still euery day more & more, where of it should be longe, I cannot well tell.

Knight.

But, as I knowe it is true that yee complaine not without cause, so it is as true that I and my sorte (I meane all Gentlemen) haue as great yea and farre greater cause to complayne then any of you haue, (for as I said) now that the pryces of thinges are so ryse, of al handes, you may better lye after your degree then we, for you may and doe rayse the pryce of your wares, as the pryces of vittayles, & other your necessities doe ryse, and so cannot we so much, for though it bee true that of such Landes as come to our handes, eyther by purchase, or by determination, and ending of such termes of yeares, or ether Estates, that I or mine auncestors had graunted the in time past, I doe eyther receiue a better fine the of old time was vsed, or enhaunse the rent thereof, being forced thereto for charge of my householde that is so encreased ouer that it was, yet in all my

The Gentle-
mans complaint
how he can
not keepe like
countenance
as he vvas
v wont to doe.

Hand to II

Hand to III

Hand to IV

A brieue Conceipte

lyfe tyme, I looke not that the thyrde parte of my lande shal
 come to my disposition, that I may enhaunse the rente of y
 same, but it shalbe in mens holding either by Leases or by
 copy graunted before my tyme, and still continuing, and yet
 lyke to continue in the same state for the most part durynge
 my lyfe, and percase my Sonnes: so as we cannot raise all
 our wares as you may yours, and as me thinketh it were
 reason we did, and by reason that we cannot, so many of vs
 (as yee know) that haue departed out of y countrey of late,
 haue ben dnyen to geue ouer our householdes, and to keepe
 either a chamber in London, or to wayte on the Court vn-
 called, with a man and a Lackey after him: where hee was
 wonte to keepe halfe a score of cleane men in his house, and
 xx. or xxiii. other persons besides euery day in the weeke.
 And such of vs as do abyde in the countrey stil, cannot with
 two hundredeth a yere, keepe that house that wee mighte haue
 done with CC. Markes but xvi. yeaeres past. And therefore
 wee are forced either to minnsh the thirde part of our hous-
 holde, or to raise the thirde parte of our reuenues, and for
 that we cannot so doe of our owne landes that is already in
 the handes of other men, many of vs are enforced eyther to
 keepe pieces of our Landes when they fall in our owne
 possession, or to purchase some Fearnie of other mens lads,
 and to stoe it with sheepe or some other Cattell to helpe to
 make by the decay of our reuenues, and to mainteyn our
 old estate withall, and yet is litle enough.

Yea, those therpe is the cause of all these mischriues, for
 they haue driuen husbandry out of the countrey, by y whych
 was increased before all kinde of bicitails, and now altoge-
 ther sheepe, sheepe, sheepe. It was farre better when there
 were not onely sheepe ynough, but also Dren, Kyne, swyne,
 Pig, Goose and Capon, Egges, Butter, and Cheese: yea,
 and breade Corne, and Palte Corne ynough besides, reared
 altogether vpon the same lande.

Then the Doctoz that had leane on his Elbowe al thys
 while

Why Gentle-
 men doe giue
 ouer their
 householdes.

Why Gentle-
 men do take
 Fearmes into
 their handes.

Husband.

Complaint a-
gainst sheepe.

while musing, sat by and sayd: I perceiue by you all three,
that there is none of you but haue iuste cause to complayne.

No by my troth excepte it be you, men of y^e church: which
trauayle nothing for your lyuing and yet haue enough.

Capper.

Wee say troth in deede, we haue least cause to complayne:
yet yee know well, we be not so plentious as wee haue ben,
the first frutes & tenthes are deducted of our lyuings, yet of
the rest we might liue well ynough, if we might haue quiet-
nes of mynde and conscience withall. And albeit we labour
not much with our bodie (as yee say) yet yee know wee la-
bour with our mynds, more to y^e weakning of y^e same, then by
any other bodely exercise we should do, as yee may well per-
ceiue by our complexions, how wan our colour is, how faint
and sickely be our bodie, & all for lacke of bodely exercise.

Doctor.

The Doctors
complaynt for
men of his cal-
ling.

Harry I would if I were of the Queenes counsell, pro-
uide for you well a fine, so as you should neede take no dis-
ease for lacke of exercise: I would set you to the Ploughe
and Carte, for the deuyl a whyt of good yee doe with your
studyes, but set men together by the Cares: some with this
opynion, and some with that: some holding this way, & some
an other: & that so stiffly as though the troth must be as they
say that haue the vpper hand in contention, & this contention
is not also y^e least cause of former vppores of y^e people, some
holding of the one learning, & some of y^e other. In my mynde
it made no matter though we had no learned men at all.

Capper.

Complaynt a-
gainst learned
men.

God forbid neighbour that it should bee so: how should
the Prynce haue counsaillours the how should we haue chri-
stian religion taught vs: how should we know the estates of
other realmes & haue cōference with the of all countreys, ex-
cept it were through learning, & by the benefit of Letters.

Knight.

Care not therefore good man capper, yee shall haue fewe
ynough of learned mē within a while if this world hold on.

Doctor.

I meane not but I would haue men to learne to wytte &
read, yea & to learne y^e languages used in countreys about vs,
y^e we might wryte our mynds to the & they to vs: yea and that

Cappers.

A brieft Conceipte

wee might read the holy Scriptures in our mother tongue,
 & as for your preaching (except yee agree better) it made no
 matter how little wee had of it, for of diuersity ther of, com-
 meth these diuersities of opinions.

Doctor,

Then yee care for no other sciences at all, but the
 knowledge of tongues, and to write and reade, and so it ap-
 peares well that yee bee not alone of that mynde, for now a
 dayes when men sends theyr sonnes to the Uniuersities they
 suffer them no longer to tary there, then they may haue a lit-
 tle of the latine tongue, and then they take them away and
 bestow them to be Clarkes with some man of law, or some
 Auditor, & Receyuer, or to be a Secretay with some great
 man or other, and so to come to a lyuing: whereby the Uni-
 uersities bee in manner emptyed, and as I thinke will bee
 occasion that this Realme within a short space wil be made
 as empty of wise and politique men, and consequently bar-
 barous, and at the last thral and subiecte to other Nations
 whereof wee were Lordes before.

Why learninge
 should be lyke
 to decay here
 after,

Knight.

God forbidde that wee that bee Gentlemen should
 not wyth our pollicy in Warre, prouide that we come not in
 subiection of any other Nation, & the stoutnesse of English
 heartes will neuer suffer that, though there were no Lear-
 ned men in the Realme at all.

Doctor,

My Well, an Emppre or a Kingedome is not so much
 won, or kepte by the manhoode and force of men, as by wys-
 dome and pollicy, which is gotten chiefly by learninge: for
 wee see in all kyndes of gouernance for the most parte, the
 wyser sorte haue the souerayntyty ouer the rude and vnlear-
 ned, as in every house the most expert: in every City & wy-
 sest & most sage: and in every common weale the most lear-
 ned, are most commonly placed to gouerne the rest: yea, a-
 mong all Nations of the world they that bee polytique and
 cyuile doe mayster the rest though theyr forces bee inferior
 to the other. The Emppres of the Greekes and Romaines
 do be

Whether a co-
 mon-vocale
 may be vvel go-
 uerned vvith-
 out learninge.

doe declare that, among whom lyke as learning and wysedome was most esteemed, so the Emppres were spread widest, and longest did continue of all other. And why should you thinke it straunge that you might more be vanquished then the other were befoze time that reckened themselves as stout men as you be, yea dwellers of this realme, as the Saxons last were by the Normandes, and the Romaines by the Saxons afoze that, and the Brittaines by the Romaines fyyst of all.

That the learned haue alway the sovereignty over the vnllearned.

There may bee wise men inoughe though they bee not learned. I haue knowne diuerse me very wise and politique that know neuer a letter on the booke, and contrary wise as many other learned men that haue bene very Idolotes in manner for any worldly pollicy that they had.

Knight.

I deny not that, but I say that if such wilemen as yee speake of had learning to their wits, they had ben more excellent: And the other that yee call so simple had bene foolish, if they had had no learning at al. Exercise in warres maketh not euery man meete to be a Captayne, though he trauayle in it neuer so longe, nor there is no other so apt for the warre but wyth experiece and vse he is made more perfitt. for what maketh olde men commonly more wise then the younger sorte, but theyr greater experience.

Doctor.

Whether a mā may be wise without learning.

Yea Experience helpeth much the witte of men I confesse. But what doth learning thereto.

Knight.

If yee graunte mee that experience doth helpe, then I doubt not but yee will graunt me anone that Learninge doth also helpe much to the encrease of wysedome: let y then be set for a sure grounde that experience doth further wise dome, & take it as it were y father of wysedome, & Memory to bee the mother. For like as experience doth beget wise dome as a father, so memory nourisheth it as a Mother, for in bayne should experience be had if y same were not kepte in remembraunce. Then if I can shew you that both expe-

Doctor.

That learning supplieth the lacke of experience, & that experience is the father of Wisedome.

A brieue Conceipte

science, and also memory are holpen and furthered by Learning: then yee must needs graunte mee that learning furthers wit, and increaseth it. We confesse the experience of an olde man maketh him wiser then the younge, because hee sawe mo thinges then the other: But an olde man seeth but onely thinges of hys owne time, & the learned mā seeth not onely his owne times experience, but also that befell in a great many of his auncestors, yea since the worlde began. Therefore he must needs haue more experience then the vblearned man, of what great age soeuer hee bee: ihē, so many cases as hee seeth in all that time to haue hapned, coulde not so well bee remembred of any man, as it is kepte in memory by wrytinges: and then if the vblearned man once forget the thinge hee sawe, he neuer lightly remembreth it againe, where as the learned man hath hys Booke alwayes to call hym to remembraunce of that hee shoulde els forget. Therefore as he that lyueth a hundred yere must needs haue more experience then hee that liueth fifty: so hee that seeth the chaunces of the worlde as it were in a Table painted afore him of a thousand yeres, must needs haue greater experience then hee that liueth but a hundred y. Also hee that trauaileth many farre Countries hath more experience then other of like age that neuer goeth oute of hys native Countrey. So hee that is learned seeth by Colinographicall histories, and other learninges, the right manner, & boiage of euery countrey in the worlde: yea of many moe then is possible for one man to trauaile through, and of these that he trauaileth, much better doth hee learne there by small taryng, then the other (by longer experience) that are all together and wholly vblearned, and consequently more wit, being in capacity & Memory both els equipolent. And now I am forced to consider the maruaylous gyftes that we haue by learning, that is: howe learning suppliyeth vnto man

To man the greatest lacke y^e some writers haue complayned
 of to bee in mankinde: that is, the breuity of Age, the gresse-
 nesse and waight of the body: wherein the first, diuers beas-
 as hartes and many other, and in the laste all Byrdes The v wonder-
full giftes that
we haue by
learning.
 doe excell man, for where it is deemed man to lyue aboue a
 hundreth yerres or there aboutes, by the benefite of Lear-
 ning, he hath the commodity of the life of a thousand yerres,
 yea two or thre thousandes, by reason hee seeth the euents
 and occurrents of all that time by Booke. And if he should
 haue lyued him selfe by all that space, then coulde hee haue
 had nothing els to his commodity but that experience of
 thinges, the rest had bene but trauaile: which experience he
 hath now by letters and withoute any trauaile in manner
 at all, and withoute the daungers that he mighte hym selfe
 haue bene in, if hee had lyued by all that space. As to the o-
 ther poynte, that wee bee not so agill and light as fowles &
 Byrdes of the Ayre be of, as that we might flurre from one
 place to an other, wee haue the commodity throughe Lear-
 ning that we shoulde purchase by such Peregrinations, as
 well as wee should if wee mighte flee from one Countrey
 to another lyke Byrdes, and yet wyth lesse trauaile and
 daunger. May wee not throughe Cosmography see the sy-
 tuation, temperature, and qualities of euery Countrey in
 the Worlde, yea better and with lesse trauaile then if wee
 mighte flee ouer them our selues: for that, that many other
 haue learned throughe their great trauailes, & daungers,
 they haue left to vs to be learned with ease & pleasure. Can
 wee not also throughe the science of Astronomy knowe
 the course of the Plancttes aboue, and theyr Continctions
 and Aspectes as certaynely as if wee were amonge them:
 is surely that wee may, for tell me: how came all y^e learned
 men heretofore to the exacte and perfite knowledge thereof:
 came they not to it by conference, and marking of circ^ular
 ces: yea in deede: so that out of their writings we learned it
 and to

A brieft Conceipte

and to the knowledg, whereof by sighte onely wee coulde neuer attayne, though wee were as agile as any Byrde.

That there is
no faculty but
is made more
perfect by
learning.

What is there els profitable or necessary for the coniuncte of mans lyfe heare in earth, but in learning it is taughte more perfectly and more compleit, then any man can learne onely by experience all dayes of his lyfe, no not so much as your Feate in warre s^r Knighte, no nor your Feate good Husbandman: but that either of them are so exactly taught and set forth in learninge, that neither of you both thoughte yee bee neuer so perfect in the said feates, but might learne many pointes moe then euer yee saw before by experience in either of them: as you s^r Knight in Vegetius, and you good Husbandman in Columella.

Knight.

I say agayne, mighte wee not haue that in our English to^gue, & read the ouer though we neuer wet to schoole.

Doctor.

Yea well inoughe, and yet shoulde yee bee farre from y perfect vnderstanding of the, except yee had the helpe of other sciences, that is to say, of Arithmatique in disposing and ordering your men, and Geomaty in deuising of Ingenies to wynde Townes, and Fortresses, and of Byrdges, to passe ouer, in the which Caesar excelled other by reason of the learning that hee had in those sciences, and dyd wonderfull feates which an vnlearned man coulde neuer haue done, and if yee had warre ouer the Sea, howe coulde yee knowe towarde what Coastes yee bee sea ryuen, without knowledg of the latitude of the place by the Poole, and the length by other starrs. And you good husband for the perfection of the knoweledg of husbandry, had neede of some knowledg in Astronomy, as vnder what aspect of the planets and in the entry of what signe, by the Sunne & moone it is time to Sowe, to Dounge, to Sowe, to reape, to Set, to Grasse, to Cut your Wood, your Tymber: yea, to haue some iudgemente of the Weather that is lyke to come, for Timing of your Coyne, and Grasse, and houseinge of youre Cattell.

How Caesar
excelled all o^r
ther captaines
by reason of
his great learning
ioyned
with his pro-
wesse.

Cattell: yea, of some part of Physicke called Veterinaria, whereby yee might know the diseases of your Beastes and heale the. Then for true measuring of Lande, had yee not neede of some knowledge in Geomaty, to be a perfect husband? Then for building, what Carpenter or Dason is so cunning or experte, but hee mighte learne more by reading of Vitruuius and other wytters of Architecture? (that is to say) the science of building, and to passe ouer the sciēces of Logicke & Rhetorique, whereof y first trauailt about the discutiō of the true reason from y false, the other about the perswasion of that is to be set forth to the people, as a thing to them profitable and expedient: whereof a good and profit counsaillour might want neither: well, tell me what coslayle can bee perfit: what common weale can bee well ordered bypyghte: where none of the Rulers or Coslaylours haue studied any Philosophy, specially the parte that teacheth of manners (the other parte of Philosophy I passe ouer now, which teacheth of natures and is called phisicke) what parte of the common Weale is neglected by Philosophy morall: doth it not teach firste how euery man should gouerne himself honestly: Secondly how hee should guyde his Family wisely and profitably. And thyrddly, it sheweth how a City or a Realme, or any other cōmon weale shoulde bee well ordered and gouerned, both in tyme of peace, and also warre. What Common weale can be without either a Gouerner or Coslaylors, that shoulde bee experte in thys kynde of learning: this confirmeth the po, that wee now talke of. If men experte in this Sciēce were consulted and followed, the common Weale shoulde bee ordered as fewe shoulde haue cause to complayne: Therefore sayd Plato that diuine Philosopher, that happy is that Common weale where either the Prince is a Philosopher, or where a Philosopher is the Prince.

That know-
ledge in moral
philosophy is
most necessary
for a Counsaillor.

Plato.

Knight.

I had weened before that there had bene no other lear-
ninge

Abriefe Conceipte

ninge in the world, but that these mē had that be Doctors of Diuinity, or of the Lawe, or of Physicke: whereof the first had all his cunning in preaching, the second in matters of spiritual lawe, and the third in phisicke and in looking of diseased mens water: many yee tell me now of many other sciences very necessary for euery cōmon Meale whych I neuer heard of before: but either there bee fewe of these Doctors that can skyll of them, or els they disclose but litle of theyr cunning.

Doctor.

Of truth there bee to fewe of them that can skill of these sciences now a dayes, and of those there bee to fewe of them that are esteemed any thinge the more for their knowledge therein, or called for to any counsell. And therefore other seeing these Sciences nothing esteemed or set by, they fall to those sciences that they see in some pyper: as to Diuinity, to the Lawe, and to Physicke: though they cannot bee perfect in none of these without the knowledge of the Sciences aboue touched, and therefore it is ordayned by Vniuersities, that first men should bee Bachelers and Maysters of Artes, ere they should come to Diuinity: and these Artes bee the seuen liberall scyences, as Grammer, Loggick, Rhetorick, Arithmatique, Geomaty, Musicke, and Astronomy: and now they skip ouer them, and fall to Diuinity by and by, before they haue gotten or purchased them any iudgement through the foresayd scyences, which maketh them to fall to these diuersities of Opinions that yee speake of. For al beginners in euery science be very quicke, and ouerhasty in getting their iudgement of thinges, (as experience teacheth euery mā) the, when they haue once vttered their iudgements & opinions, they will see nothing that will sound contrary to y same, but either they will construe it to theirown phantasy, or vtterly deny it to be of any authoritie. Pythagoras, to his Scholers (y came to learne his Prophane sciences) commaunded silence for seuen yeares, that by al space they should be hearers onely, and no reasoners: and in thys

What maketh
learned men to
be so fowle.

Younge study-
ent; bee all-
vvaies ouer-
hasty in vtte-
ring theyr
iudgements.

Pythagoras co-
minded silence
to his disciples
for a time.

In this diuine science euery Boy that hath not red Scripture past halfe a yeaere, shall bee suffered not onely to reason and enquire of thinges (for that were tollerable) but to affirmenew and straunge interpretations vpon the same neuer hearde of before. What ende of Opynyons ca there bee whyle this is suffered. Also Plato forbad any Man to come to his schoole that was ignoraunt in Geomatty, and to this high schoole of Dyuinity bee that knoweth not hys Grammer, much lesse any othea science shall be admitted at the first, I say not to learne, (for that myght be suffered) but to iudge: and there commeth in the thyng that the same Plato sayeth to be an onely cause sufficient to ouerthrowe a whole Common weale where it is vsed: that is, when they take on them the iudgement of thinges to whome it doth not appertayne, as youth of thinges belongynge to olde men, children ouer their fathers, seruauents ouer their maisters, and priuate men ouer their Maiesties. What Ship can bee longe saufe from wracke where euery man will take vpon him to bee Pilot: what house well gouerned, where euery seruauent will bee a Maister & a teacher. I speake thus much of the commendation of Learning, not onely because I hearde my friend heere (the Capper) set litle by Learning, but also that I see many now a dayes of hys Opinion, which care nothyng for anye other knowledge, but onely that they may write and reade, and learne y tongues: whom I can resemble well to those men that esteemeth more the Barke then the Tree, the Shale more then the Kyndell. Wherefore they seeme to take the bright Sunne from y Earth, that would take away Learning from vs: for the same is no more necessary for the increase of all thinges on earth, then is learninge for the increase of Ciuility, Wisedome, and Pollicy amonge Men. And as much as reasonable men doth extell all other Creatures by y gyfte of Reason, so much excelleth a learned man:

Plato commaunded that no man ignoraunt in Geomatty should enter his schoole.

What harme may come if they bee suffered to iudge in thinges to vho it doth not appertayne.

That it is not learning sufficient to knowe the tongues, & to writte.

A brieft Conceipte

any other through the polishing and adorning of Reason by these Sciences.

Knight.

Of my sayth I am glad it was my chaunce to haue you in my company at this time, for of a wise man a man may alwayes learne: But mee thought yee sayde lately to my neighbour the Capper, that wee should haue learned men few ynough within a while if the world did continue. What ment yee thereby, and what should be the cause thereof.

Doctor.

Why learning should decay,

I shewed you all ready one great cause of the same: that was, where I shewed you that most men were of that opinion, that they thought learning ynough to write and read, another cause is y they see no preferment ordered for Learned men, nor yet any honour or estimation geuen them lyke as hath bene in time past: But rather the contrary, y more learned, the more troubles, losses, and vexations they come vnto.

**Knyght,
Doctor.**

God for hyd. Howe so:

May haue you not seene how many learned men haue bene put to trouble of late within this xx. or xxx. yeares, & all for declaring their opinions that in thynges haue risen in controuersie: haue you not knowne when one Opinion hath bene set forth, and who so euer sayd agaynst that, were put to trouble: and shortly after, when the contrary opinion was furthered and set forth, were not the other that prospered before put to trouble for saying their mindes agaynst this latter opinion: and so neyther of both parties escaped, but eyther first or last hee came to bee hit, of whether syde soeuer he were: except it were some weatherwyse fellow, that could chaunge their opinions as the more & stronger part did chaunge theirs. And what were they that came to these troubles: the singularlest fellows of both parties, for there came no other to the concertation of these thyngs but such who seeing in steede of honour, and preferment, dishonour, and hinderaunce, recompenced for a rewarde of learninge.

learning: will any either put his childe to that science that may bring him no better fruite then this: or what scholer shall haue any courage to study to come to that ende: the rarity of scholers, and solitude of the Inuierſities, do declare this to be truer then any man with speech can declare.

Then I perceiue euery man findeth himselfe greued at this time, & no man goeth cleare as farre as I can perceiue. The Gentleman that hee can not lyue on hys Landes onely as his father did before: the Artificers cannot set so many a worke by reason all manner of vittayle is so deare: the Husbandman by reason his Lande is dearer rented then before: then wee that be Marchaunts pay much dearer for euery thinge that cometh ouer sea: which great dearth (I speake in cōpariſon of former times) hath ben alwayes in a manner at a stay euer after that basenesse of our English Coine, which happened in the latter yeares of king Henry the eyght.

Marchaunt.

That euery
state findeth
himselfe grieued.

I doubt not but if any sorte of men haue licked themselves whole, yee bee the same: for what oddes soeuer there happen to bee in exchaunge of thinges, yee that bee Marchauntes can espy it straight: for example, because yee touched somewhat of the coyne, as soone as euer yee perceiue the price of that enhaunſed, yee by and by what was to bee wonne therein beyonde sea, raked all the olde coyne for the moste parte in the Realme, and founde the meanes to haue it carped ouer, so as litle was lefte behynde within thys Realme of such olde Coyne in a very shorte space, whych in my Opinion is a great cause of this dearth that hath bene since of all thynges.

Doctor.

That Marchauntes beitt
saue themselves
in euery
alteration.

Of our olde
coyne exhausted.

Now can that be what maketh it to the matter what sorte of Coyne we haue among our selues so it bee currant from one hand to another, yea if it were made of Leather.

Knight,

Yea, so men commonly say, but the truth is contrary, Doctor, as not onely I coulde proue by common reason, but also that

A briefe Concept

Doctor.

Whether it
make any mat-
ter of vvhath
mett all the
Coyne bee
made of.

What men are
most pinched
by this comon
Dearth.

That the
Prince hath
mo tlosse by
this comon
Dearth.

prooffe and experience hath already declared the same: but
nowe we doe not reason of the causes of these grefes, but
what states of men bee grieved in deede by this Dearth of
things. And albeit I heare euery man fynde hymselfe grie-
ued by it in one thing or other: yet considering that as many
of them as haue wares to sell, doe enhaunse as much in
the pryce of thynges that they sell, as was enhaunsed before in
the pryces of thynges that they must buy: as the Marchant,
if hee buy deere he wyll sell deare agayne: so these Artifi-
cers as Tappers, Clothyers, Shomakers, and Farmers,
haue respecte large inough in selling theyr wares to the
pryce of vittayle, Wool, and Iron, which they buy. I haue
seene a Cap for xiiii. pence as good as I can get now for ii.
Shillinges fyre pence: of cloth yee haue heard how the prce.
is risen. Now a payre of shooes cosse twelue pence, yet in
my tyme I haue bought a better for fyre pence. Nowe I can
get neuer a horse shood vnder ten pence or twelue pence,
where I haue also seene the comon pryce was fyre pence.
I cannot therefore vnderstande that these men haue great
test grieve by thys common and vniuersall dearth, but ra-
ther such as haue theyr lyuinges and Stypendes rated at
a certaintye, as common Laborers at eight pence a Daye,
Journemen of all occupations, Seruing men to forty shil-
lynges a yeaere: And Gentlemen whose Landes are set out
by them & theyr Auncestors, eyther for lyues or for terme of
yeaeres: so as they cannot enhaunse the rents thereof though
they would, and yet haue the pryce enhaunsed to them of e-
uery thinge that they buy. Yea, the Prynce of whome we
speake nothing of all this while, as hee hath most of yeaere
by Reuenewes and that certayne, so should hee haue moste
losse by this dearth, and by the alteration, specially of the
Coyne, for lyke as a man that hath a great number of ser-
uaunts vnder him, if he would graunt that they should pay
him paymes weekly, where before they payde him pence,
I thinke

I thinke hee should be most looser himselfe: so wee bee al-
 but gatherers for the Prynce, and of that whych commeth
 to vs, wee haue but euery man a pooze luinge, the cleare
 gaines commeth for the most part to the Prynce: now if her
 highnes doe take of vs the ouerplus of our gettings in
 this base Coyne, I repute me to you whether y will go as
 farre as good money in the prouision of necessaryes for her
 selfe and the Realme: I thinke plainly no, for thoughe her
 grace might within this Realme haue thinges at her owne
 price, as her grace cannot in neede without greate grudge
 of her Maiesties subiectes: yea since her maiesty must haue
 from beyonde the Seas, many thinges necessary, not onely
 for her graces houtholde, and Dynaments alwel of her per-
 son and family, as of her hoyses whych percase mighte bee
 by her Grace somewhat moderated: but also for the Furni-
 ture of her warres, which by no meanes can be spared: as
 Armoz of all kindes, Artillary, Ankers, Cables, Wyth,
 Carre, Iron, Steele, (yea, I iudge farther) some Hand-
 gunnes, Gunne powder, and manye other thynges moe
 then I can reckon, whych her grace sometimes doth buy
 from beyonde the Seas, at the prices that the straungers
 will set them at: I passe ouer y enhaunsement of y charges
 of her Graces houtholde which is cominon to her Grace
 with all other noble men, therefore. (I say) her Maiestye
 should haue most losse by this cominon dearth of all other:
 and not onely losse, but daunger to the Realme and all her
 subiectes, if her Grace should want Treasure to purchase
 the sayde prouision and necessaryes for Warre, or to finde
 Souldiers in tyme of neede, which passeth all the other pri-
 uate losses that wee speake of: yea, I iudge farther
 wee heere say that the Queenes maiesties Mynte ma-
 keth by her losses that way, by the gaynes which shee hath
 by the Mynte another way: and if that bee to shorte shee
 supplyeth that lacke by Subsidies, and impositions of her
 Subiectes

What daunger
 should it be to
 the Realme if
 the Prynce
 should vante
 Treasure in
 tyme of neede.

Capper.

A briefe Conceipte

Subiectes, so as her Grace can haue no lacke, so longe as her Subiectes hath it.

Doctor.

Howe the
Queenes Ma-
iesty cannot
haue Treasure
vvher her sub-
iectes haue
none,

To vvhat pro-
fit the new
Mine is like,

Knight.

Yee say well there, so longe as the Subiectes haue it, so it is meete the Queene should haue as longe as they haue it: but what and they haue it not: for they can not haue it when there is no Treasure lesse wythin the Realme, and as touching the Mine, I coumpte that profite much lyke, as if a man would take his Wood by the roote to make the more profite thereof at one time, and euer after to lose y^e profite that might growe thereof yearly: or to pull y^e Wood of his sheepe by the roote. And as for the Subsidies, howe can they be large when the Subiects haue litle to departe wyth: & yet that way of gathering treasure is not alwayes most fauile for the Prynces surety: and wee see many times the profits of such Subsidies spent in the appeasing of the People that are moued to sedition, partly by occasion of the same.

Nowe that it was our chaunce to meete with so wyse a man as yee bee, (Paister Doctor,) I would we did go thorough with y^e whole discourse of this matter, & as hetherto wee haue ensearched the very soares, and grieues that euery man feeleth: so to try out the causes of them, and the causes once knowne, the remedy of them might be soone apparent, and though we be not the men that can reforme them, yet percase some of vs may come in place where we may aduertise other of the same that mighte further and helpe forward the redresse of these thynges.

Doctor.

A Gods name, I am content to bestowe this day to satisfie your pleasures, and though this communication (percase) should do no great good, yet it can do no harme (I truste) or offend no man: if it is had betweene vs here a parte and in good manner.

Knight.

No, what man should bee angry with him that were in an houle, and espyed some faulte in the Beames, or Rafter of

ters of the same, and would ensearch þ default, & then certi-
 fie the good man of the house ther of or som other dwelling
 ther in, as well for his owne safegard as for others. But for
 as much as wee haue thus far proceeded as to the findynge
 out of þ griefes, which as far as I perceiue stādeth in these
 poynts (that is to say) dearth of al things in comparisō of
 the former age, though there be scarcenes of nothing, deso-
 lation of countries by Inclosures, desolation of townes for
 lacke of occupations, & Craftes: and diuision of Opinions
 in matters of Religion: whych haleth men to and froe, and
 maketh them to contend one against another. Nowe let vs
 goe to the Garden vnder the Wyne, where hauing a good
 fresh and toole sitting for vs, in the shadowe: there wee may
 proceede further on this matter at leasure. And I will bee
 speake our supper heere with mine host that we may al sup
 together. A Gods name (quoth euery one of the rest of the
 company) for wee are weary here of sitting so longe. And so
 we all departed to the Garden.

A recapitula-
 tion of the co-
 mon griefes.

D. TH

THE SECOND Dialogue, wherein the causes or occasions of the sayd griefes are encreased.

Knight.



Then we had walked
up and downe in the sayd Garden a
pety whyle; I thought longe til I
had hearde moze of the sayd Doc-
tors communication, for hee seem-
ed to mee a very wise man, not af-
ter the common sort of these clarkes

which can talke nothing but of the
faculty that they professe: as if they be Deuines, of Diui-
nity: Lawyers of the law: and Philosophers of Philosophie on-
ly; this man spake very naturally of euery thinge, as a man
vniuersally seene that had ioyned good learning with good
wit: and therefore I desyree him and the reste of our sayd
companies to resorte agayne to the matter that wee left
at, and first to discourse & search out what should be the cau-
ses of the sayd common and vniuersall dearth of all thinges,
(in comparision of y former age) saying to y Doctor thus.
I maruayle much maister Doctor what should be the cause
of this Dearth, seeing all thinges are (thankes be to God)
so plentyfull. There was neuer moze plenty of Cattel then
there is nowe of all sortes: And yet it is scarcety of thinges
which commonly maketh Dearth: thys is a maruaylous
dearth, that in such plenty commeth contrary to his kinde.

That it is a
maruaylous
Dearth that
commeth in
time of plenty.

Doctor,

Syr it is (no doubt) a thing to be mused vpon, and wor-
thy of Inquisition: let mee heare euery one of your opini-
ons, and then yee shall heare myne.

Husband.

I thinke it is longe of you Gentlemen that this dearth
growe

groweth, by reasoⁿ yee enhaunce your lands to such a heighth
as men that liueth thereon must needs sell deere agayne,
or els they were neuer able to make their Rent.

The occasion
of this dearth
is layde to the
Gentlemen,

Knight.

And I say it is long of you Husbandmen, that wee are
forced to rayse our Rentes, by reason wee must buy so deere
all things that wee haue of you as Come, Cattell, Goose,
Pig, Capon, Chicken, Butter, and Egges. What thinge
is there of all these but that yee sell it nowe deerer by the
one halfe then yee did within these xxx. yeares: cannot you
neighbour remember that within these xxx. yeares I could
in this towne buy the best Pig, or Goose that I coulde lay
my hand on for foure pence, which now costeth twelue p^{er}ce,
a good Capon for threepence, or foure pence, a Chicken for
i. d. a Hen for ii. d. which now costeth mee double & triple p^{er}
money: it is likewise in greater ware, as Biese & Butter.

From the Gen^{tl}
lemen it is
layde to the
Husbandmen.

husband

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I graunt that, but I say you & your sorte, men of landes
are p^{ri}ncipall cause hereof by reason you rayse your landes.

Well, if yee & your sorte will agree thereto, that shalbe
holpen: vnder tak that you & your sorte will sell all thinges
at the price yee did xxx. yeares agoe, & I doubt not to bring

all Gentlemen to let vnto you their landes at the rent they
went at xxx. yeares past: and that the faulte is more in you

that bee Husbandmen then in vs that bee Gentlemen, it
appeareth by this: all the landes of the Realme is not en-

haunted, for some haue takings therein, as Leases, or Co-
pies not yet expyred, which cannot be enhaunted though y^e

owners would, and some Noblemen and Gentlemen there
be, that when their landes be at their disposition, yet they

will enhaunce nothinge aboue the olde rent so as a greate
parte of the landes of the Realme stand yet at the olde rent

and yet neuerthelesse there is none of your sorte at all, but
selleth all thinges they haue deere then they were wonte to

doe by the one halfe. And yet these Gentlemen that doe en-
haunce their Rentes, doe not enhaunce it generally to the

double

The Gensle-
mens excuse
and reasonable
offer.

A briefe Conceipte

double thoughe I confesse that some of vs that had Landes either geuen vs by the Kinges highnesse, y^e belonged heretofore to Abbeyes, and Priories, and were neuer surueyed to y^e better most before, or otherwise descended to vs; haue enhaunsed any of them aboue the old rent; yet all y^e amounteth not to halfe the landes of the Realme.

Doctor. How say yee? he sayeth well to you now: will yee sell your wares as yee were wont to doe? and hee will let you haue his lande at the rent yee were accustomed to haue it.

Husband. When the Husbandman had pawled a whyle, hee sayd. If I had the price of euery thing that I must pay for be: shoes, likewise brought downe, I could be content: els not.

Doctor. What thinges bee those?

Husband. Gary, Iron for my Plough, Harrowes, and Cartes: tarre for our sheepe: shoes, cappes, linnen & wollen cloth for my mainy, which if I should buy neuerthelesse as deere as I doe now, and yet sell my wares good cheape, thoughe my rent were thereafter abated, excepte the other thinges aforesayd might bee abated in pryce together, I coulde neuer lyue

Doctor. Then I perceaue yee must haue y^e price of other thinges qualified aswell as the rent of your land, ere yee can aforde your wares good cheape.

Husband. Yea, (but sir) I thinke if the land were brought downe that the pryce of all things would fall withall.

Doctor. Graunt that all the Landlordes in this Realme woulde withone assent agree that their landes shoulde bee in theyr Tenauntes handes, at like rent as they were at xxx. yeares agoe: yee sayde afore yee coulde not yet sell your wares as good cheape as yee mighte xx. yeares past, because of the pryce that is rayled in other things that yee must buy: and if yee would say that those men should bee driuen againe to sell those wares that yee buy, firste better cheape, and then yee will sell yourres thereafter. I pray you how might they be com-

be compelled to doe so: they be straungers, and not within
 obediēce of our soueraigne Lady, that doe sell such wares,
 as Iron, Tarre, Flaxe, and other: then consider mee, if yee
 cannot so compell them, whether it were expediente for vs
 to suffer straungers to sell all their commodities deere, &
 wee ours good cheape: if it were so, then it were a greate
 enriching of other countreyes, and impouerishinge of our
 owne, for they shoulde haue much Treasure for theirs, and
 haue our commodities from vs for a very litle: except yee
 could deuise to make one price of our commodities among
 our Selues, and a nother outwarde, which I cannot see
 how it may bee.

If all Landes
 vvere abated
 in their rent,
 vwhether this
 dearth vwould
 be remedied.

That it vwere
 not expedient
 that straun-
 gers should sel
 deere and vwee
 ours good
 cheape.

Now, I will make my Neighbour heere, another rea-
 sonable offer, if hee refuse this: let my Tenautes rent bee
 increased as your payment is increased, after the rate and
 yet I am contented.
 Husband. What meane yee by that?

Another offer
 of the Gentle-
 man made to
 the Husband-
 man.

I meane this, yee sell that yee were wonte to sell a fore
 time for xx. groates, now for xxx. let my rent bee increased
 after that proportion and rate, that is for every xx. groates
 of olde rent x. shillings, and so as the price of your wares
 ryleth, and yet I doe but keepe my lande at y^e olde stent.

Knight.

By bargayne was to pay for my holde, but vi. poundes
 xiii. shillings. iiii. d. yearly of rent, and I pay that truely,
 yee can require no more of mee.

I cannot much say agaynste that, but yet I perceaue I
 shalbe still a losser by that bargayne though I cannot tell y^e
 reason why: but I perceiue yee sell deerer that yee buye on,
 and I good cheape that which is my liuing: help me May-
 ster Doctor I pray you, for the Husbandman driueth mee
 to the Wall.

Doctor.

Mary but mee thinketh touchinge y^e matter yee did rea-
 son of, yee draue him to his shiftes: that is, to confesse that
 this dearth ryleth not at your hand. And though hee do de-

A brieft Conceipte

send himselfe for his payment to you by colour of a Lawe: yet he seemeth to cōfesse thus much, that the lawe compelleth you to take litle for your lande, & that there is no lawe to restrayne him, but hee may sell his wares as deere as he listeth. It is ynough for your purpose that yee tooke in hand to proue that this dearcht rose not first at your hande, but whether the pyces of thinges increasing as they doe, it were reason yee did rayse your wares (which is youre lande) or to bee payde after the olde rate, when yee did set your land, if yee be compelled to pay for your prouision after the new rate. Wee will talke of that heereafter, or let y to be considered of other wise men: but now let vs see if the Husbandman were forced to sell his thinges good cheape whether all thinges shoulde bee well then. (Our English Coyne being supposed to bee base, and of no such estimation in other countreyes as within our owne Realme as for the moste parte it hath bene before that it was reformed by our noble Prince which nowe raygneth) put y case this, y this Husbandman shoulde bee cōmanded to sell his wheate at viii. d. the bushell, Rye at vi. d. Barley at iiii. d. his pig, and goose at iiii. d. his capon at iiii. d. his Henne at i. d. ob. his Woolle at a marke the Todde, Stiefes and Buttons after the olde pyces as in time past haue bene: he hath then ynough to pay his Landlorde, as hee had in time past: his Landlorde agayne hath as much rent, as hee was wont to haue: and the same when the pyce is so set, will goe as far for the sayd wares, whercof y pyces be thus set as so much of olde Coyne, payde after the olde wont would haue done. Al this is yet well, heere is yet neither Lord, nor Tenant grieved. Well let vs goe farther, the Husbandman muste buy Iron, Salt, Tarre, Pitch, and suppose hee shoulde bee also forced to reare by fcare on his owne, and that prices of cloth both Linnen, & Wollen, & Leather were set after the rate. The Gentleman must buy Wyne, Spices, Silkes, Ar-

Whether if the Husbandman were forced to abate the prices of his stuffe this dearcht should be the meded.

kes, Armour, Glasse to glase his house wythall: Iron also for Tooles, Weapons, and other Instruments necessary: as Salt, Dyles & many other diuerse thinges, more then I can reckon without summe: whereof they may in no wyse want, as Iron, & Salt: for of þ which is within the realme of both, is not halfe sufficient for the same. Dyles, Tarre, Pitch, and Rozyn, whereof wee haue none at all, and without some other of the said commodities wee could liue but grossly, and Barbarously: as without Wynes, Spices, & Silkes, these must bee broughte from beyonde the Seas, shall wee buy them as good cheape after the rate? A man would thinke yes, for whē straungers shoulde see that with lesse money then they were wonte to take for these wares, they may buy as much of the commodities of this Realme as they were wonte afore with more money, they wyll bee content to take the lesse money when it goeth as farre as þ more wente before, and so sell their wares as good cheape: (as for an example) if they sell now a yarde of Veluet for xx.s. or xxii.s. and petyth that for a Todde of Wooll, were it not as good for them then to sell their Veluet at a marke a yarde, so they had a Todde of wooll for a marke?

Knight.

I would thinke so, for thereby hee shoulde bee at no more losse then he is now. And so the lyke reason may serue for Iron, Wynes, Salt, Spice, Dyles, Pitch, Tarre, Flaxe, Clare, and all other outward commodities.

If I should aske you this question, whether they shoulde bee compelled by a lawe to sell they wares so or no: what could yee say?

Doctor.

It maketh no matter whether it were so or no, & I thinke they cannot, because they be out of the Prynces Dominion, and at liberty, whether they will bringe any thing to vs or no: but seeinge they may haue all thinges heere, as good cheape at that pryce they sell for lesse Money, as they had be fore for the greater pryce they will willingly bringe they wares and sell them so.

There.

Knight.

A brieue Conceipte

Doctor.

The straung-
ers
vill take but
morey currant
euery vwhere.
for their vware
that they haue
on their charg.

Thereof I doubt, (vpon the former supposition of our base
Coyn) for I thinke they woulde sell styll at the highest as
they doe now, or byynge nothinge at all to vs. For yee muste
vnderstand they come not alwayes for our comodities, but
sometimes to sell theirs heere, knowing it heere to be beste
vendible and to buy in other countreies other commodities
where the same is best cheape, & some tynes to sell in one
parte of the Realme they wares that be there moste desy-
red, and to goe to some other parte of the realme for the co-
modities that be there most abundant and best cheape: or
partly of our countrey & partly of another, and for the pur-
pose Come vniuersally currant is most commodious, speci-
ally if they entend to bestow it in any other place, the where
they were vnlad of their marchaundize. Now if our Coyn
were not so allowed in other places as it is heere, the strau-
ger should be at greater losses, if hee should take our coine
for his wares: he had leauer bringe his wares to other pla-
ces, where he might haue Coyn currante in all places for
it, that he mighte bestowe where and when he lyst. If they
would looke but for our wares for theys, thinke yee that
they would not study to bring to vs such wares or stufte as
shoulde be best cheape with them, & most deare with vs.
Yea no doubt, that is the pollicy of all Marchauntes.
What stufte is that crowe you?

Knight.

Doctor.

Knyght,

Many Glasses of all sortes, paynted Clothes, & Papers
Dringes, Pippens, Cherries, perfumed Gloues, and such
like trifles.

Doctor.

That straun-
gers and all
Marchauntes
bring thinges
that bee best
cheape to the

Yee say well, they will percase attempte vs wyth such, &
such thinges as are good cheape wyth them, it costeth but
they labourers only and they peoples, which els shoulde be
idle, yet these thinges be somewhat after the price in other
places vendible as well as heere. But when wee feele the
lacke of Iron, Steele, Salt, Vempe, Flare, and such other:
such light wares as yee speake of wyll not be desyred heere,
but re-

but reiected, and these other looked for: what other things
 els will they bringe trowe you? and dearest
 with vs.

Percase yee meane, Silkes, Wynes, any Spices:

No not that, for those bee in good pryce els where.

What then should they haue to bitter to vs, that is beste
 cheape with them and dearest with vs?

Brasse, for it should go w them but for Brasse in deede,
 and therefore good cheape, and heere with vs a great parte
 for Siluer, and therefore deare with vs, and y they would
 buyge into vs?

How, in brasse Pots, Pans, and other Vessell of brasse?

Not so: no man would take such Stuffle but for Brasse
 in deede.

Howe then? Then the Doctor tolde mee, that it was in
 Coyne made beyonde sea lyke in all thyngs to our Coyne,
 which they brought ouer in heapes, and when they see that
 esteemed here as siuer, they bringe that for our Commo-
 dities: as for our Woolles, felles, Cheese, butter, Cloth,
 Tyme, and Ledde, whyth thinge euery man will be glad to
 sell for the most they can get: and beyng offered of straun-
 gers moze of our Coyne then they may get within the coun-
 trey, they will sell them to straungers rather then vs, wyth
 whome the pryce is set: then straungers may afford y Coyne
 good cheape, for they make it themselves, and the Stuffle
 is good cheape that they make of, and soo they will geue
 thereof for our sayd comodities as much as yee will aske.
 Then though they made not such coyne themselves, yet see-
 ing they must pay moze for our wares, or els no mā would
 bring them to them, when hee may haue as much at home
 of his neighbours, the straungers must needes haue a con-
 sideration of that in the pryce of the said outward marchan-
 dize that they sell, and also holde them dearer. And thus by
 the one way they may exhaust our chiefe commodities, and
 geue vs brasse for them, wherewith wee can not buy such

A brieft Conceipte

Glaucci &
Diomedis
dermutatio

He that selles
good cheape
and buyeth
deare shal not
lightly thriue,

Knight

Doctor.

b^e not possi-
ble to keepe
our Realme
from going
forth o^r the
Rea^me if
be in more est
imation as
w^here.

other like necessary commodities agayne, as wee shoulde want if they were not plenty within our Realme. Much lyke the exchange that Homer sayth Glaucus made wyth Diomedes, which begaue to thys man his golden Harnesse for Bascen. But y other way they must needes bee brought to sell they wares deauer to vs, and then if thys Husbandeman, and Gentleman, and so all other wythin this Realme shou d be compelled to sell they things good cheape, and yet buy all chinges deare that cometh from beyonde the Sea: I cannot see how they shoulde longe prosper, for I neuer knewe him that bought deare and sould good cheape, and vse it any longe space to thysue.

There may bee searchers made for such Coyners as yee speake of conning in, and punishments deuysed ther efore, and for going forth of Wittayles also, that none shall passe thys Realme.

There may be no deuise imagyned so strong, but that ye may be deceiued in both those poyntes, as well in such coyne brought in, as in Wittayles caried forth, for many heads will deuise many wayes to get any thinge by, & though wee bee enuyoned wyth a good Poole (that is the Sea) yet there is to many Posternes of it to get out and in, vnwares of y master. Whosoener hath but a pretty house wyth any Fa mily of his owne, and but one Gate to go forth and come in at, and the master of y house neuer so attentiu, yet some what shalbe purloined forth: much more out of such a large Realme as this is, hauing so many wayes and Posternes to goe forth at and come in. And yet if straungers shoulde be content to take but our Clares for theys, what shoulde let them to aduance y prynces of their wares, though oures were good cheape vnto them, and then shall wee be still losers and they at the winning hand with vs; whyle they sell deare and buy good cheape, and consequently enrych themselves and imponer the vs. Yet had I leauer aduance our wares in

wares in price as they aduance theirs (as wee nowe doe) though some bee losers thereby, but yet not so many as shoulde bee the other way. And yet, what businesse shoulde there bee in making of pyres of euery cryffe, for so it would bee, if the pyre of any one thing bee abated by commassive ment: and therefore I cannot perceyue that it may bee remedied by either of you both (I meane you Gentleman, and you good husbandinā) for if it rose at either of your hands, so it might be remedied likewise at the same, by releasing the thinge againe at either of your handes that was y^e cause of this dearth. But if either you should release your rente, or you the price of your Wittayle to the olde rate, yet that coulde not compell strangers to hyng downe the price of theirs as I haue sayd: and so longe as theyr commodities be deare, it were neither expedient nor yet could ye though ye would make your commodities good cheape (excepte ye can deuise a way how to liue without them, & they wth out you) which I thinke impossible: or els to vse exchange of ware for ware without Coyne (as it was before Coyne was founde) as I reade in the tyme of Homer it was, and also the Ciuile law doth affirme the same, which were verie combersome, and would require much cariage of Ware by and downe, where nowe by the benefit of Coyne a man may by those tokens fetch the wares that hee lacketh a farre off, without great trouble of cariag. And hard were it readily to finde all wares that the one hath to pay the other, of equall value.

If neyther the Gentleman nor I may remedy this matter at whose hands lyeth it to bee holpen then?

I wyll tell my minde therein hereafter, but firste let vs houlte out the cause of this Dearth. And therefore let mee learne, what other thing shoulde be the cause thereof.

Many these Inclosures, and great Pastures are a greate cause of the same. Whereby men do turne the erable Lande

That the dearth
rose neither at
the Gentlemā
nor Husband-
mans hand.

Permutations
of thinges be-
fore Coyne.

Husband.

Doctor.

Capper.

A brieft Conceipte

Complaynt a-
gainst sheepe-
maisters,

being a lyuing for diuerse poore men before time, nowe to one mans hand, and where both corne of all sortes, and al- so cattell of al kindes were reared at yetime, nowe there is nothing but onely sheepe. And in steede of C. or CC. Her- sons that had theyr liuing thereon, now bee there but thre or foure Sheepeherds and the Pastur onely that hath a lyuing thereof.

Doctor.

That inclosu-
res is the occa-
sion of deso-
lation & vva-
king the pov-
er of the
Realme.

Yee touch a matter that is much to be considered, albe- it I take not that to be y onely cause of this dearth at thys time: but this I thinke in my minde, that if that kynde of inclosing doe asmuch encrease in xxx. yeares to come, as it hath done in xxx. yeares past, it may come to the great deso- lation and weaking of the strength of this realme, which is more to be feared the dearth, & I thynke it to be y moste oc- casion of any thing yee spake yet, of these wylde and unhappye byproes y hath bene among vs: for by reason of these inclo- sures many Subiectes haue no ground to liue vpon, as they had before time, and occupations be not alwayes set a worke all a like, and therefore the people still increasynge, and their liuings diminishing, it must needes come to passe that a great part of the people shalbe idle and lacke lyuing. For hunger is a bitter thinge to beare: Therefore they muste needes when they lacke, murmur agayne them y haue plen- ty, and so stirre these tumultes.

Knight.

Quod in cō-
muni possi-
detur ab om-
nibus negli-
gitur.

Experience shoulde seeme to proue playnely that Inclo- sures shoulde be profitable and not hurtfull to the common weale: for we see y countreys where most Inclosiers be, are most wealthy: as Essex, Kent, North Hamptonshyre. &c.

And I haue heard a Ciuillion once say, that it was taken for a Maxime in his lawe (this saying) that which is possessed of many in common is neglected of all: & Experience shew- eth that Tenaunts in comon beq not so good Husbandes as when euery man hath hys parte in seueralty also I haue heard say that in the most countreys beyond the Sea, they

Reasons to de-
fend Inclosurs.

know

knowe not what a common ground meaneth.

I meane not of all Inclosures, nor yet all commings, but onely of such Inclosures as turneth common & erable fieldes into pasture, and violent Inclosures of commings withoute lust recompence of them that haue righte to commen there in: for if land were seuerally enclosed to the entente to continue husbandry thereon, and euery man that hath ryghte to commen, had for his portion a piece of y^e same to himselfe inclosed, I thynke no harime but rather good should come thereof, if euery man dyd agree thereto: but yet it woulde not bee sodaynely done, for there be many pooze cottages in England, which hauing no landes of their owne to liue on, but their handy labour and some refreshinge vpon the layde comens: which if they were sodaynely thrust out from that commodity, myght make a great tumulte and a disorder in the common weale. And percase also if men were suffered to inclose theyr grounds vnder the pretence to keepe it still in tyllage, within a while after they would turne all to Pasture, as we see they do now, too fast.

If they finde more profite thereby then otherwyle, why Knight should they not?

I can tell why they should not well ynough, for they may not purchase theselues profit by y^e whych may be hurtfull to other: but how to bring them y^e they would not so doe, is all the matter: for so longe as they finde more profit by pasture then by tyllage, they will still inclose and turne erable land to pastures. (q^d the Knight) That well may bee restrained by lawes, if it were thought most profitable for y^e common weale, but all men do not agree to that poynte.

I wot well they doe not, and therelore it were harde to make a lawe therein: so many as haue profit by that mat. ter resisting it. And if such a lawe were made, yet men studying still of theyr most profit, would defraude the Lawe by one meane or other.

Doctor.

Vl: 1 yn
Inclosures is
hurtfull.

Doctor.

Whether that
which is profita-
ble to one may
be profitable to
all other if they
vse the same feate
Knight.

Doctor.

A brieft Conceipte

Doct. I haue heard oftentimes much reasoning in this matter and some in maintenance of these Inclosures woule make this reaso. Every man is a Member of the comon weale, & that, which is profitable to one man may be profitable to another, if he woulde exercise the same feate. & therefore that which is profitable to mee, & so to another, may be profitable to all, and so to y^e whole comon weale: as a great Masse of Treasure consisteth of many pence, and one penny added to another, and so to the third and fourth, &c. maketh up a great summe: so both ech man added one to another, make up the whole body of a comon weale.

Doct. That reason is good, adding some what more to it: true it is, that, y^e thinge which is profitable to each man by himselfe, so it be not preiudicial to any other, is profitable to the whole comon weale, and not otherwise. Or els stealing or robbing which percase is profitable to some men, were profitable to the comon weale, which no man will admit: but this feate of inclosinge is so, y^e where it is profitable to one man it is preiudicial to many: therefore I thinke that reason sufficiently answered.

Knight. Also they will lay forth another Reason: saying, that, that which is our owne commodity shoulde be alwayes aduanced as much as might be, and these sheepes profit is one of the greatest commodities we haue, therefore it ought to be aduanced as hygh as may bee.

Doct. I could aunswere that argumente with the like reason: as I did the other: true it is, we ought to aduance our owne commodity as much as wee can, so it bee not so as much more the hinderaunce of our other commodities. Or else where as the breede of Coneyes, Deere, and such like is a commodity of thys Realme: Yet if wee shoulde tynne all our euable grounde to nourishe that commodity, and grieue by the Plough and all other commodities for it, it were a greate folly.

They

They will say agayne, that all Groundes bee not mette
for sheepe, Knight.

It is a very ill Grounde but either it seemeth to breede
sheepe, or to feede them vpon: and if al that is meete either
for the one, were turned to the maintenaunce of sheepe,
and none oth^r thinge, where shall wee haue our other co
modities growe? Doctor.

All cannot doe so, though some doe. Knight.

What should let the all to do y^e whych they see some do, yet
what should better encourage them thereto, the to see them
that doe it be come notable rych men in shorte time by y^e do-
ing thereof. And then if euery man should do so one follow-
ing the example of another, what should ensue thereof, but
a meere solitude and vtter desolation of the whole realme:
furnished onely wyth sheepe, and sheepeherds in steede
of good men: wherey it might be a pray to the ennys that
first would set vpon it: for then the sheepe paysters & they
sheepeherds could make no resistance to the contrary.
Who can let them to make they^r most aduantage of y^e
which is they^r owne? Knight.

Yes mary, men may not vse they^r owne thynges to the
damage of the common weale: yet for all this that I see, it
is a thinge most necessary to be prouyded for, yet I cannot
perceyue it should be the onely cause of this dearth: for this
Inclosinge and greate grasinge if it were occasion of that
dearth, of any thing it must be of Corne chiefly, and nowe
these many yeaues past we had Corne good cheape enough.
And the dearth y^e was then most, was of Cattel, as Byetes
and Buttons, and the broode of these are rather increased;
then diminished by paysters and inclosynges. Doctor.

Why should men bee then so much offended wyth these
Inclosures. Knight.

Yes & not without great cause, for though these many
yeaues past through the great bounty of God, we haue had
much Doctor.

A brieffe Conceipte

much plenty of Corne wherev̄ it hath bene good cheape, on Aker bearing as much Corne as two moost commonly were wont to do: yet if these yeaeres had chaunced to bee but meanelly fruitefull of Corne; no doubtte we should haue had as great dearth of Corne as we had of other thinges. And then it had bene in maner an vndoynge of the poore Commons. And if hereafter there shoulde chaunce any barren yeaeres of Corne to fall, wee should bee assured to fynd as great extremity in the price of Corne from that it was wont to bee, as wee fynde now in the prices of other vittayle. And specially if we haue not inough to serue within the Realm, which may happen hereafter moze likely then in time past, by reason that there is much lande since turned to pasture, for euery man will seeke where most aduantage is, & they see there is most aduantage in grasing and breeding, then in husbandry and tillage by a great deale. And so longe as it is so, the Pasture shall neuer increch vpon tillage for all the lawes that euer can be made to the contrary.

Knight.
Doctor.

And how thinke yee that this might be remedied then? To make the profit of the plough to be as good, rate for rate, as the profit of the Grasser and sheepe maister is.

Knight.
Doctor.

How Inclosures may be remedied without constraint of lawes.

Now could that be done? Many I coniecture two maner of wayes, but I feare mee the deuises shall seeme at the first blissh so displeasaunt vnto you ere yee consider it thoroughly, that yee will reiect them ere yee examine thes: for we talke now, to haue things good cheape; and then if I should mencion a meanes I should make some things dearer for the time I should bee a none reiectted, as a man I spake against euery mans purpose.

Knight.

Yet say your mynde and spare not, and though your reason at the first seeme vnrasonable, yet we will heare whether yee can bringe it to any rersonable ende.

Doctor.

Remember what wee haue in hand to treate of, not howe the prices of thynges onely may bee brought downe: but howe

how these Inclosures may bee broken by and Husbandrye more vſed: of the prices of thinges wee ſhall ſpeake heere, after.

Wee will remember well that,

What maketh men to multiply paſtures & Inclosures gladiſh? Hary the profit that groweth thereby.

Knyght.

Doctor.

Knyght.

Doctor.

It is very true and none other thyng. Then ſynde the meanes to doe one of theſe two thinges that I ſhal tel you. And yee ſhal make them as glad to exerceſe tillage, as they do now Paſtures.

What bee thoſe two thinges?

Knight.

Doctor.

Hary, either make as litle gaires to growe by the paſtures, as there groweth by þ tillage. Or els make þ there may growe as much profit by tillage as vid before by the Paſtures, and then I doubt not but tillage ſhall be as well cheriſhed of every man as Paſture.

And how may that be bedone?

Knight.

Doctor.

Hary the firſt way is to make the woll to bee of as baſe pryce to the breeders thereof, as the Corne is: and þ ſhall be, if yee make a lyke reſtraynt of it for paſſynge ouer Sea vntwrought, as yee make of Corne: another is to increaſe the cuſtome of Wooll that paſſeth ouer vntwroughte. And by that the pryce of it ſhall be abated to the breeders, & yet that pryce ouer Sea ſhalbe neuer theleſſe: but that whych is increased in the pryce thereof on ſtraingers ſhall come to the Queenes highneſſe, which is as profitable to the Realme as though it came to the breeders, and myght relieue them of other ſubſidies. Thus farre as touchinge the bypynginge downe of the pryce of Woollies, Now to the inhaunſing of the price of corne, to be as good to the husbandman as Wooll ſhould bee: and that might be brought to paſſe if yee will let it haue as free paſſage ouer Sea at all times, as yee haue now for Wooll.

That a like reſtraint of vroll ſhould be made as is of Corne, or none to be ſent ouer.

By the firſt two wayes, men woulde ſende leſſe wooll a-uer ſea then they doe nowe, and by that way the Queenes

Marchaunt.

f.

cuſtome

A brieffe Conceipte

custome should be diminished: by your latter way the price of Corne should be much enhaused, wherewith men would be much grieved.

Doctor. I wot well it would be deere at the firste, but if I can perswade you that it were reasonable, it were so, and that the same could be no hinderance to the Realme vniuersally but greater profit to the same, then I thinke yee would be content it should be so: and as touchinge the Queenes custome I will speake after ward.

Marchaunt. I graunt if yee could shewe mee that.

Doctor. I will assay it, albeit the matter be somewhat intricate, and as I shewed you before, at the first view would displease many, for they would say, would yee make Corne deerer then it is, haue wee not deareth ynough els without that? May I praye you finde the meanes to haue it better cheape if it may be, it is deere ynough already: and such other like reasons would be sayd. But nowe let the husbandman aunswere such againe. Haue not you Grassers raised the price of your Woolles, and Felles? and you Marchauntes, Clothiers, and Tappers, raised the price of your marchandise and wares, ouer it was wont to be in manner double: is it not as good reason then that wee should raise the price of our Corne: what reason is it you should be at large and wee to be restrayned? Cyther let vs all be restrayned together, or els let vs be all at lyke liberty: yee may sell your Wooll ouer Sea, your Felles, your tallow, your Cheese, your Butter, and your Leather, (whych ryseth all by grasing) at your pleasure, and for the deereest penny yee can get for them: And we shall not sell out our corne, except it be at x. d. the bushell or vnder, that is as much to say, as wee that be husbandmen shall not sell our ware except it be for nothing, or for so litle as we shall not be able to liue thereon. Thinke you if the husbandman here had spoke these wordes, that he did not speake them some what reason.

Reasons why
the Husband-
man should
be as like liber-
ty as other to
sell his wares.

reasonable?

I thanke you withall my heart, for yee haue spoken in y^e Husband, matter moze then I could doe my selfe, and yet nothing but that is most true. Wee felt the harme, but wee wist not what was the cause thereof: many of vs sawe well longe agoe, that our profit was but small by the Plough, & therefore diuerse of my Neighboures that had in time past, some two, some three, some foure Ploughes of their owne, haue layde downe some of them part, and some of them all their Teemes, and turned either parte or all their erable ground to Pasture, and thereby haue waxed very riche men. And euery day some of vs incloseth some part of his ground to Pasture, and were it not that our grounde lyeth in y^e common fieldes entermingled one with another, I thinke also our fieldes had bene enclosed of common agreement of all the towneship longe or this time. And to say y^e very truth I that haue inclosed litle or nothing of my grounde, coulde neuer be able to make vp my Lordes rent, were it not for a litle herd that I haue of Meate, sheepe, swyne, Geese, and Hennes, that I doe reare vpon my grounde. Whereof because y^e price is somewhat round, I make moze cleare profit, then I doe of all my corne: yet I haue but a very bare liuing, by reason that many thinges doe belong to husbandry, which bee nowe exceeding chargeable ouer they were in time past.

Though this reason of maister Doctors heere doth please you well that be husbandmen; yet it pleaseth vs that be artificers nothing at all, which buy most both breade Corne, and malte corne for our peny: and whereas yee maister doctor say, that it were as good reason that the Husbandman should rayse the price of his corne, and haue as free vente of the same ouer sea, as we doe and haue of our wares. I can not greatly deny, but that yet I say that euery man hath neede of corne, but they haue not so much of other wares.

That by breeding the husbandman hath much cleare gaynes.

Cappers.

Abriefe Conceipte

Doctor. Therefore the more necessary that corne is, the more bee
 the men to be chearished that reareth it: for if they see there
 be not so much profit in vling the plough, as they see in o-
 ther feates: thinke yee not that they will leaue that trade &
 fall to another y they see more profitable? As yee may per-
 ceite by the doings of this honest mans neighbours, which
 haue tourned their erable land to pasture, because they see
 more profit by pasture, then by tillage. Is it not an old say-
 ing in Latin. Honos alit artes: that is to say profite oz ad-
 uancement nourisheth euery faculty, which sayinge is so
 true that it is allowed by the common iudgement of al mē-
 Wee must vnderstand also that all thinges that should bee
 done in a common Weale, bee not to be forced oz to be con-
 strayned by the straight penalties of the lawe, but some for
 land some either by allurement and rewardes rather. For
 what lawe can compell men to bee industrious in trauayle
 oz labour of body, oz studious to learne any science oz know-
 ledge of the mind: to these thinges they may bee well pro-
 moted, encouraged, and allured: if they that bee industrious
 and painefull, bee rewarded well for their paines: and bee
 suffered to take Gaynes and wealth as rewardes of theyr
 labours: and so likewise if they that be learned be aduanti-
 ced and honoured accordinge to their forwardnes in Lear-
 ning: euery man will then study either to bee industrious
 in bodchly labour, oz studious in thinges that pertayneth to
 knowledge. Take these rewards from them, & go about to
 copel the by lawes thereto, what mā will plough oz digg y
 ground oz exercise any manuell arte wherein is any paine:
 oz who will aduenture ouer seas for any Marchandise, oz
 vse any faculty wherein any perill oz danger should be, see-
 ing his reward shall be no more then his y firs still: but yee
 will percase as I were me y all their reward shall not be take
 away, but part of it. Yet then yee in it graūt me y as if all
 these rewardes were taken fro the, all these faculties must
 decaye.

That profit ad-
uāunceth all
faculties.

Honos alit
Artes.

That some
thinges are to
be allured by
revwardes, and
some other
vvith straight
paynes forced
in a common-
Weale.

decay, so if part of that reward be minished, the vse of these faculties shal minish withal after the rate, and so they shall be the lesse occupied, the lesse they be rewarded & esteemed. But now to our purpose: I thinke it more necessary to deuise a meane howe husbandry may be more occupied rather then lesse: which I cannot perceiue howe it may be brought to passe, but as men do see the more gaynes therein y^e gladder they will occupie that feate, and this to bee true (that some things in a commonweale must be forced with paines and some by rewards assured) may appeare, by y^e which the wise and polittique senatour Tully wytteth; laying, that it was the wordes of Solon, which was one of the seuen wise men of Greece, and of those seuen the onely man that made lawes, that a commonweale was holden by by two things, chiesly that is by reward and payne. Of which words I gather, that men should be prouoked to do good deedes by rewardes and preferments: and to abstayne from ill doings by paynes. Trow you if husband men be not better chearyshed or prouoked then they be, to exercise the pough, but y^e in proesse of time so many poughes w^l be layd downe as I feare me there be all ready that if one vnfrutefull yeare shall happen amonge vs, as commonly doth once in leuen yeares: we should the not only haue dearely but also scarcenes of corne, that we should be driuen to seeke it from outwarde parties and pay deare for it.

Howe would yee haue them better chearished to vse the plough? Knight.

To let them haue more profit by it the they haue, & liberty to sell it at all times & to all places as freely as men may do other things; but the (no doubt) the price of corne would rise specially at y^e first more then at length: yet y^e price would prouoke every man to set y^e plough in the grounde, to till waste groundes: yea & to turne the lands y^e is now enclosed for pasture to erable, for every man will the gladder follow

The lesse honor or profit is geuen to any arte the lesse it shal be frequēted.

Tulli in Ep. ad Atti.

Knight.

Doctor.

A briefe Conceipt

that wherein they see the more Gaines, and thereby muste nedes ensue both greater plenty of corne within the realme and also much treasure should bee brought into the realme by reason thereof. And besides that plenty of all other victuall encreased amonge vs.

Knight. That would I sayne heare you declare howe?
Doctor. Wee haue heard that by this free vent and sale of corne,

Profit vwill
make hulsbād-
men more oc-
cupied & there
by more profit
and consequē-
ly better chepe
of Corne.

husbandmans profite is aduanced, then it is shewed that euery man naturallly will follow that, wherein he seeth profit. the more doe occupie husbandry, the more plenty of Corne must nedes be: and the more plenty of corne there is, the more of the better cheape: And also the more will be spared ouer that which shall suffice for the Realme. And then it may be spared in a good yeare, shall bringe vs againe either corne: or els the commodities of other countries necessary for vs. Then the more husbandry there is occupied, the more vniuersall breede should be of all victuals of Meate, Sheepe, Swine, Geese, Hennes, Capōs, & Chickens: for al these are reared much on corne.

Knight. If men shoulde sell when a good seasonable yeare is, all that is ouerplus: when the Realme is serued what shoulde wez doe if a barren yeare shoulde happen, when no store of corne is left of the good yeare before?

Doctor. If y^e must consider that men will bee sure they will keepe inoughe to finde themselves within the Realme, ere they sell any forth of the same, and hauing liberty to sell at their pleasure, doubt yee not, but they had leuer sell their corne two pence or thre pence in a Bushell better cheape within the realme, then to bee at the charge of cariage, and perill of aduenture, in sending it ouer and sell it dearer, except: it be for much more gaines. And thus men being provoked wth laker, wil keepe it more corne, looking for a deare yeare in the countrey, whereby must nedes be great store:

and

and though they did not so, but should sell ouer sea all that they might spare ouer that serues the realme, when y^e yeare is plentiful: yet by reason that throughe the meanes afoze. sayd moe ploughes are set a worke, then would suffice the Realme in a plentiful yeare: if a skarce yeare should fall after, the corne of so many ploughes as in a good yere, would be moze then Inough in an vnfruitfull yeare, at the leasse would be sufficiēt to finde the Realme, & so should y^e realme be serued wth inough of corn in a skarce yere, & in a plentiful yere, no moze thē inough: which might be sold ouer for great treasure, or greater comodities: where now in a plentiful yere we seeke to haue but as much as may suffice y^e realme. Then if a skarce yere should happen, wee must needes lacke of our owne to serue and should bee dyuen to buy from beyond the sea, and then if they were as enuious as wee bee: might not they say, when we requyred any Corne of them, (that being they could get none from vs when we had plenty,) why should they let vs haue any corne when wee haue scarcety? Surely common reason would that one Region should helpe another when it lacketh: and therefore God hath ordeyned that no countrey should haue all commodities, but that which one lackes another brings forth: & that y^e one countrey lacketh this yeare, another hath plenty there of commonly the same yere, to the intent men may knowe that they haue neede one of anothers helpe: & thereby loue and societie to growe amonge all men y^e moze, but here we would do as though we had neede of no other countrey on earth, but to liue all of our selues: & as though we myghte make the market of all things as wee lyst our selues. For though God is bountifull vnto vs & sendes vs many great commodities, yet wee coulde not lyue wythoute the commodities of others. And for example, of Iron and Salte, though we haue competently thereof, yet wee haue not

A brieſe Conceipt

not the thyrde parte to ſuffyce the Realme, and that can
 in no wyſe bee ſpared if yee will occupy Huſbandry: the ſar,
 Roſyn, Pitch, Oyle, and ſteele, we haue none at all: and for
 Tynnes, ſpyces, lymen cloth, ſilkes, & coloures, though wee
 might liue indifferently without theſe, yet ſar frō any equili-
 ty ſhould it be. As I deny not but many thinges wee might
 haue heere ſufficiently that we buy now from beyonde ſea,
 and many thinges wee might ſpare wholly: whereof if time
 will ſerue I ſhall talke more hereafter. But now to re-
 turne to the firſt poynte I ſpake of befoze, to bee one of the
 meanes to bring huſbandry vp, that is by baſing & eſtyma-
 tion of wooll, & felles. Though I take not that way to bee
 as good as the other, for I doe not allowe that meane that
 may baſe any of our commodities, except it bee for the in-
 haunſing of a better commodity: but if both commodities may
 bee inhaunſed together, as by the laſt deuſe I thynke they
 might be, I allowe that way better, neuertheſſe wheras
 you (brother Percer) ſhewed afoze, that either by reſtray-
 ning of wooll and other commodities, yll they were equall
 within the Realme after the rate of the Corne: or by inhaun-
 ſing the cuſtome of wooll and other the ſayd commodities,
 till the pryce beſide the cuſtome of the ſayd commodities were
 brought like to the corne in proportion: & Queenes cuſtome
 ſhoulde bee dymyniſhed, I thinke not ſo: for the one way, as
 much as ſhe ſhoulde haue for the more wooll at litle cuſtome
 ventred ouer, ſo much ſhoulde ſhe haue for the leſſe wooll at
 a greater cuſtome ventred. And the other way as much as
 her Grace ſhoulde loſe by her cuſtome of wooll, ſo much or
 more ſhoulde her grace win by the cuſtome of Clothes made
 within the realme. But one thing I doe note by this latter
 deuſe, that if they ſhoulde take place we muſt doe: that is, if
 wee keepe within vs much of our commodities, wee muſte
 ſpare many other thinges that wee haue now from beyond
 ſea, for wee muſt alwayes take heede that wee buy no more
 of ſtraun-

Whether the
 Quee. cuſtome
 ſhould be di-
 miniſhed by
 ſtraint of vvoll
 ynyvrought.

of straungers then wee do sell them, for so we should impoverish our selues and enriche them. For hee were no good husband that had no other perye reuenues but of his husbandry to live on, that would buy more in the market then he selles againe. And that is a paynte that wee might saue much by our treasure in this realme, if wee would. And I maruell no man takes heede to it, what number first of trifles comes hether from beyond the sea that we myghte export cleane spare or els make them wpythin our realme: for the which we either pay inestimable treasure every Yeare or els exchaunge substantiall Wares and necessary for them, for the which we might receiue gret treasure. Of the which sorte I meane aswell looking Glasses, as dyynking, and all so to glasse Windowes, Dialles, Tables, Cardes, Balles, Puppettes, Penners, Inkehornes, Toothe pickes, Gloues, Knives, Dagges, Dywches, Brooches, Aglettes, Buttons, of silke & silver, Earthen pots, Pinnes, & Pointes, Hawkes belles, Paper both white and browne, and a thou sand lyke thinges that mighte either be cleane spared, or els made within the Realme sufficient for vs. And as for some thinges they make it of our owne commodities, and send it vs againe, wherby they let theyr People a worke; and do exhauille much treasure out of this Realme: as of our wool they make clothes, Cappes, and Kerseies: of our fells they make Spanish skyrmes, Gloues and Gyrdels: of our Tynne, Salt sellers, Spones and Dyshes: of our broken Linen clothes, and raggs, Paper both whyte and Brown. What treasure thinke yee goes out of thys Realme for etery of these thinges: and then for all together it exceeds myne estimation. There is no man can be contented now wpyth any other Gloues then is made in Fraunce or in Spayne: nor Kerseie but it muste bee of Flaunders dye: nor cloth but French or Fysseadowe: nor Duche, Brooch, or Aglette, but of Venice making, or Pillen: nor Dagge, Swearde,

all these of
inbrought to
sell in
very
Hovestmann
gers fetch from
vs our great
for very trifles.

all these of
inbrought to
sell in
very
Hovestmann
gers fetch from
vs our great
for very trifles.

Our delicacy
in requiring
straungers
vvaies.

all these of
inbrought to
sell in
very
Hovestmann
gers fetch from
vs our great
for very trifles.

A brieue Conceipte

The encrease
of haberdash-
ers & milleners
ouer they vver
wont to be.

How the stra-
ngers finde an-
easy way to
get treasure by
things of no
value then by
any mynes of
golde & siluer.

How straun-
gers finde their
nation with
our commodi-
ties, and on
our cosles,

Knyfe or Gyrdle but of Spanish making, or some outward
countrey, no not as much as a Spurre but that is fetcht
at the Hyllener. I haue heard within these xl. yeares whē
there were not of these Haberdashers that selles french or
Pillen Cappes, Glasses Knives, Daggers, Swordes,
Gyrdels and such thinges, not a dosen in all London: & now
from the towne to Westminster alonge, euery Streete is
full of them, and theyr shoppes glytters and shines of glas-
ses as well bynking as looking, yea all manner of vessel
of the same stuffe: paynted cruises, gaye Daggers, Knives
Swordes, and Gyrdels that is able to make any temperate
man to gaze on them and to buy somewhat, though it serue
to no purpose necessarie. What neede them beyond Sea to
trauayle to Peroue or such farre Countreys to trye oute
the sandes of the Riuer of Tagus in Spayne, Pactogus in
Asia, and Ganges in India, to get amonge them after much
labour small sparkes of gold, or to digge the deepe bowels
of the earth for the Mine of Siluer or Golde, when they ca-
of vyle claye not farre soughte for: and of pyppe Stones &
ferne rootes, make good Golde and Siluer, more then a
greate many of Syluer and Golde Mines would make. I
thinke not so little as a hundred thousand poundes a yeare
is fetcht of our Treasure, for thinges of no balure of them
selues, but only for the labours of the workers of the same,
whiche are set a worke al on our charges. What grossenes of
wits be we of, that see it, and suffer such a continual spoyle
to be made of our good and Treasure by such meanes, and
specially that will suffer our owne commodities to goe, and
set straungers a worke, & then to buy them againe at theyr
handes: as of our Tull they make and die Kerseies, French-
adownes, broad clothes, and Cappes beyonde sea & bynge
them hither to bee solde againe: wherein I pray you note
what they doe: they make vs pay at the ende for our owne
stuffe againe: Yea, for y^e strangers custome for their worke-
manship

manthippe and colours, and lastely for the second custome in the retourne of the wares into the realme againe: where as by working the same within the realme, our owne men should be set a worke at the charges of straungers, the custome should be borne all by straungers to the Ducene, and the cleare games remayne within this Realme.

If yee ponder such thinges and other, which goeth ouer Sea yearly from vs for the same, yee speake to litle by as much agayne, but one thinge I haue marked that albeit it is true, that though straungers buy their wooll beare & pay twiſe custome, that is both at goinge oute of the wooll, and when it retournes in clothes or cappes, yet the same shalbe better cheape then that which is made within the Realme, whereof that should come, I would sayne knowe.

Whether it come of our clooth, or of our chargeable fare of our tolles, which we Englishmen vse percale more then other nations, I knowe not: yet it were better for vs to pay more to our owne Countreymen for these Clares, then to straungers lesse: for howe litle gaires so euer goeth ouer, it is lost to vs cleare, but how much so euer y gaines is that goeth from one of vs to another, it is all saued within the Realme. And a lyke reason as you make now heere, Once a Booke Seller made mee when I asked him why we had not white and browne paper made within y Realme aswell as they had made beyonde Sea: Then hee aunswereed mee y there was paper made a while within the realme: At the last the man perceiued that made it that he could not asorde his paper as good cheape as it came from beyond the sea, and so he was forced to lay downe making of paper: and no blame in the man, for men will geue neuer the more for his paper because it was made heere. But I would eyther haue the paper stayed from coming in, or so burdened with custome, that by that time it came hether, our men myght asorde the paper better cheape, then straungers myght do theirs.

Knight.

Doctor.

Why straigers may afforde

vares better

cheape made

by them then

vce may the

same made

here, & yet

that it vvere

better for vs to

buy our owne

though they

vvere dearer.

A brieffe Conceipte

theirs, the customes considered.

Knight.

There yee speake a thing that the Queenes Attourney woulde not agree vnto, for if such wares were made within the realme, the the Queenes custome should be lesse, by reason that litle or no such wares should come from beyond the Sea.

Doctor.

The most durable & vniuersal profit is more to be esteemed then short and particular.

If the Queenes Attourney did regarde as well the profite that should come after, as that which is present afore eyes, hee would agree to this well inough: for by this meanes inestimable treasure should be saved within y realme, and then it could not grow to the profite of the subiects, but it must needes growe also to the profite of the Queene, for the wealth of the subiects, is the profite of the Queene. And in mine Opinion they doe not best provide for her Graces profite, that procureth onely a presente commodity: but rather that comoditie that may longest endure without grieffe of her subiects.

Knight.

You would haue a lawe made, that no such ware should be brought from beyond the sea, to be sold heere, of such things as could be made heere, as well as there.

Doctor.

Yea forsooth, so would I wishe.

Knight.

I was once in a Parlyament, when such a thynge was mooued, but onely for Cappes, that none made beyond sea should be sold heere within the Realme: and then it was answered by a great wise man, that it was to be feared lest it touched the league made betwene y Princes hyghnesse, & some forraign Prince. What thinke you the would haue bene said beyond sea? If yee would haue mooued a lawe to be made of our Wooll, our Linne, our Leds, and Hydes, should haue bene sold heere.

Doctor.

Whether our restraine doe touch the leagues made vvyth other Princes.

I cannot tell whether that should touch the league or no, nor whether any such league be: but I say to you y I thinke it a maruailous League that should let vs to make lawes to binde our owne subiects that might be profitable to the

Doctor.

and if

No league is
to be cheris-
hed that is
not for the com-
mon weale.

and if their were any such league I had leauer it were broken then kept, which beinge broken should doe vs good, & being kept should doe vs harme. And I suppose that when wee enter any league, the same is ment to be for our weale and not for our hunderaunce, wherefore that league would not be esteemed y^e might hinder our commonweale.

What if they would make a like lawe beyonde the sea, Knight.
that wares made within this realme shoulde not bee sold there: as they made of late, when wee deuised a lawe that no wyues shoulde bee caried heather in straungers bot-
tomes.

Yet should they be enforced rather to dissolue their lawe Doctor.
then we ours, for our stuffe is necessary for them y^e is made here: as cloth, Leather, Biere, tallow, butter, cheese, pew-
ter vessel, &c. Theirs be to vs more to serue pleasure then
necessity: as Tables, Cardes, perfumed Gloues, Glasses,
gally Pots, Dyalls, Dreges, Pippens, and Cherries. Wea
their chiefe commodities might be better spared of vs, the
retayned of them: as wyues, silkes, spices, yron, and Salt.
I woulde to God wee woulde followe but the example of a
poore Hauen towne y^e I heard of it to do of late, heere in y^e
Marches of Wales, called Carmarthen: when there came
a certayne Vessell thether out of England all Laden wyth
Appells, which a foretime was wont to bringe them good
Coine, the Towne commaunded that none shoulde buy the
sayd Appells vpon a great payne, and so the Votte stode so
long in the Hauen without sale or vent, til y^e Appells were
putrified and lost. And when the owner demaunded of the
Bayliffe of the towne, why he had stayed his sale, and vent:
the Bayliffe aunswered agayne, that the sayd vessel came
thether to fetch the best wares they had in the countrey, as
Fryzes, brode Clothes, & wooll: and in steede thereof, hee
shoulde leaue the in their countrey but appells, that shoulde
be spent & wasted in lesse then a weeke. And said bring vnto
vs coine

A vvorthe ex-
ample to bee
followed in
vsing of straun-
gers.

A brieſe Conceipte

of coyne or malte as yee were wont to doe, whereof y^e coun-
 trey hath neede, and yee ſhall be welcome at all times, & yee
 ſhall haue free vente and ſale thereof in our Porte: thinke
 yee that the Cities of London, Southhampton, Wiſtow,
 Cheſter and other moe, might they not learne a good leſſon
 of this poore Welch towne in this doing? Might not they
 ſay when ſhippes full of Drenages, Pippens, or Cherries
 come in, that if they would agayne take Plummes, Damo-
 zins, and ſtrawberries for them, they ſhoulde haue free ex-
 change: and when they bring in Glaſſes, Puppets, Rat-
 tles, and ſuch like thinges, they ſhould haue like trydes for
 them, if any ſuch were to bee had wthin thys Realme: as
 there bee many. But if they come for our Clothes, for our
 Clothes, Kerſeyes, Coyne, Tinne, Lode, yea our Golde,
 and ſiluer, and ſuch ſubſtantiall and neceſſary thinges: let
 them bring in againe, Flaxe, Tarre, Oyles, Fryth, & ſuch-
 like. And not to uſe them as men do little Children, geue
 them an apple for the beſt Jewell y^e they haue about them.
 And thus we are empouerished of our treaſure, and chyefe
 commodity, and cannot perceiue it, ſuch is the ſureſſe of
 ſtrangers wits and the grolenes of ours. Yet it were moze
 tollerable if wee dyd no moze but cheariſh theyr deuils y^e
 be ſtrangers: but we haue in times paſt deuiled our ſelues
 many other wayes, to our owne impouerishment, and to
 exhaust our treaſure. And now I muſt come to that thinge
 that you (brother Percer) touched afore, which I take to
 be the chiefe cauſe of all this dearth of thinges (in compa-
 riſon of former times) and of the manifeſt impoueryſhing
 of the Realme, and myght in ſhort time haue ben y^e deſtruc-
 tion of the ſame, if it had not bene y^e rather remedied: that
 is, the baſing or rather the corrupting of our coyne & trea-
 ſure, whereby we deuiled a way for the ſtrangers not on-
 ly to buy our Gold and ſiluer for braſſe, and to exhauſt this
 Realme of Treaſure: but alſo to buy our chiefe comodities
in ma.

Of the coyne
 what haime
 might haue
 grovyn of the
 alteration of it

in manner for nought, yet it was thought this should haue bene a meane not onely to bring our treasure home, but to bring much of theyrs: but the experience playnely declared the contrary, so that it were but a very Dullerdes parte now to be in doubt thereof,

Forsooth and such a Dullerde am I in deede, & I can Knight. not perceiue what hinderance it should be to the Realme to haue this mettall more then that (for our Coyne) seeing the Coyne is but a token to goe from man to man, & when it is stricken with y^e Princes seale to be currant, what maketh it the matter what mettall it be made of: yea, though it were but Leather, or Paper?

You say but as molle sorte of men doe say, and yet they be farre wyde from the truth, as men that doe not consider y^e thinge groundly: for by that reason God would neuer sende dearth amonge vs, but the Prince might quickly remedy it. As if Coyne were at a Crowne a Bushell, the Prince might prouide Crownes inoughe for himselfe and also his subiectes made of brasse to pay for the same, and so to make it as easy for him and his subiectes to pay a Crowne of such mettall for a bushell, as it should be for them now to pay a penny for the same: and as the price of coyne doth rylse, the Prince myght rylse the estimation of his Coyne after the rate, and so keepe the coyne alwayes at one estate in deede, though in name it should seeme to rylse. As for example, I suppose wheate this yeare to be at a groate a bushel, and y^e next yeare at two groates, the Prince might cause the groate to be called viii. d. and if the bushel rose to xii. d. the bushell he might rylse the estate of the groate to xii. d. and so whether it were by makinge of Coyne of other Mettalles then he of price receaued amonge all men, or by enhaunsing the price of the olde coyne made in mettalles of estimation, the Prince might if pour reason were true, keepe alwayes not onely coyne, but also all other victayles and necessaries for

Doctor.

man

A brieft Conceipte

mans Lyfe, alwayes at one ppyce in deede, though in terme they should vary: but yee may see dayly by experience contrary hereunto. For when God seeth dearth either of corn or of other things, they is neither Emperour nor King can helpe it, which they would gladly doe if they might, as well for their owne ease, as for theyr subiectes, and might some doe it, if your reason afore touched myght take place: that is, if either they might make coine of what estimation they would, of vile mettalles: or els enhaunse the value of coynes made in mettalles of ppyce, to what some they would. Yet a man at the first blush woulde thinke that a Prince in hys realme might doe this easily, & make what coyne he would to bee currant and of what estimation it pleased him. But he that so thinketh marketh but the termes, & not the thinges that are vnderstanded by them: as if a man made no difference betweene, vt. groates that made an ounce of siluer, & vt. groates that made in all but an ounce of Siluer, by the groate of the firste sorte the sixthe parte of an Ounce, & by a groate of the other sorte is the twelfth parte of an ounce of siluer vnderstanded: and so there muste bee as much difference betwene the one groate & the other, as is betwene two and one, the whole thinge & the halfe: though either of both be called but vnder one name, that is a groate. We must consider though gold & siluer be the mettals commonly where in the coyne is stricken to bee the Tokens for exchange of thinges betwene man and man: yet it is the wares that are necessary for mans vse, that are exchanged in deede, vnder the outward name of the coyne; and it is the raritie and plenty of such wares, that makes the ppyce thereof hier or baser. And because it were very conbious and chargeable to carry so much of the wares that we haue abundance of, to exchange for the wares that we want alwayes, both for the weight of our wares, and also for that they could not be ca-

The substance
and quantity is
esteemed in
coyne & not
the name,

ried so farre without perishing of the same: nor propo-
ned so euen, as they should be alwayes, neither more or lesse
brought of our wares, then were equialet w other wares
that we receiue: therefore were the mettals of golde and sil-
uer deuiled, as wares of litle weight, most in value, & least
combious to carpy: and least subiect to detrimēt or hurt in
the cariage therof. And may be cut and deuiled in most pie-
ces and portions, without any losse, to bee as the meane in
wares to exchaunge all other wares by. And if the thinge
were to be new deuiled, necessity would cause vs to deuile y
same way againe. For put the case there were no vse of mo-
ney amonge vs, but onely exchaunge of wares, for wares:
as sometimes I do reade hath ben: we might at a time haue
such plenty of things in our realme, as for exanple of corn
wolles, & Felles: Cheese, & Butter, and such other cōmo-
dities as were sufficient for vs, and there shoulde remayne
with vs such great store, that wee could not spend it in our
needes, nor keepe it longe without perishing. Woulde not
we be glad to exchaunge that abundance of thinges, y could
not abyde the longe keeping, for such wares that woulde a-
byde the keepinge: which we mighte exchaunge agayne for
such wares, as I rehearsed: or any other as necessary, when
scarlity of the same should happen among vs. Psea verely
wee shoulde study to haue in that exchaunge such wares as
would go in least romth and continue longest without peri-
shing, and be caried to and fro with least charge, & be most
currant at all times, and at all places. Is not Golde & Sil-
uer, the thinges that be most of that sort: I meane most of
value, most light to be caried, longest able to abide the kee-
ping: aptest to receiue any forme, marke, and most currant
in all places: & most easely deuiled into many pieces woth-
out losse of the stufte. In some of these poyntes I confesse
precious Stones do excell both Silver & Gold, as in value
or lightnesse of cariage, but then, they may not bee deuiled
without

Aristo. lib. 5.
Eth.

That the neces-
sity of Mutuall
traffique and
commodity of
exchang made
Coyn to be
deuiled.

Hom. F. de
emptione et
vendicatio-
ne. Li. 1.

Why Gold &
silver were
the stufte most
meete for
coine to bee
stricken.

without perishing of the substance, nor put agayne together, after they be once deuided, nor many of them abide so many daungers without perishing of the matter, nor yet receiue any marke or stampe easely, nor be so vniuersally esteemed; therefore they be not so meete for Instruments of Exchange, as Silver and Golde be, or els they for their pierces and lyghtnesse of carriage, might be. And because Gold and Silver haue all these commodities in them, they are chosen by common assent of the whole world, that is knowe to be of any ciuility, to be instruments of exchange to measure all things by, most apte to be either caried far or kepte in store, to receiue for thinges, whereof we haue abundance and to purchase by them agayne other thinges which wee lacke, when and where we haue most neede. As for example, if there were no coyne currāt, but exchange of thinges as I sayd sometime there was: let this case, that a Man had as much corne in one yere as he could not well spend in his house in foure yeares after, and perceiued that hee myghte not keepe it so longe, or till a deare or skarse yere shoulde come, and if he did, much of it shoulde perish or all: were it not wisdom for him then to exchange the ouerplus of that corne, for some other ware that might be longer kept, without daunger of wast, or deminishing, for by which he myghte at all times haue either Coyne agayne at his neede, or some other necessarie thinge, Deas no doubt, if there were no vse of Silver or Golde he would haue Time brasse, or Leadde or such other like thing that would abide the keeping with least detriment, and would desire to haue that thinge most, that were in least weight, most in value, and in leaste daunger of wearing or perishing, & moste vniuersally receiued, wherein Gold and Silver excelles all other mettalles.

Knight.

What makes these Mettalles to bee of more value then other.

Doctor,

No doubt their excellencie aboue other mettalles both in plea-

in pleasure, and use partly the rarity of them.

What be these qualities? If yee prayse the **Gold** for Knight.
his weight or plyableness, **Lead** doth excel it in these pointes:
if yee commend his colour, **Syluer** by many mens iudge-
mentes (whose colour resembleth daylyght for his clea-
renesse) passeth him. And **Perroldes** preferres it in Armes,
because it is furthest of scene in y^e fildes, nor neuer seemes
other colour but his owne, be it neuer so farre of: where all
other shall seeme blacke farre of, and so loose the strengthe
of theyr owne.

As much as the **Lead** approacheth the **Golde** in that point Doctor.
I speake of weight and plyableness, it is cast behinde it in o-
ther qualities farre more commendable, as in colour it ei-
ther passeth **Syluer** by some other mens iudgementes, be-
cause it resembls the colour of the celestiall bodie, as the
Sunne and Starres being the most excellent thynges that
commeth vnder the view of the bodily senses of man, or it
is equivalent to it in armes. I know not how much it is e-
steemed, well I wote **Princes** blase their armes most with
that colour, whether it bee for excellency of the same, or for
that they loue the mettall it is made of so wel, I cannot tel.
But now to esteeme theyr other qualities, **Golde** is neuer
wasted nor consumed by fire: yea the more it is burned, the
more puerer it is: which ye can say of none other mettalles,
Then it weares not lesse by occupying; it defyleth not the
thing it toucheth, as **Syluer** doth, with which ye may draw
lynnes, whych is a dec' aratio that the stuffe falleth away, al-
beit wyters do maruell that it should draw so black a line
being of that brightnes and colour it self. Then there is no
rust nor scirfe y^e diminisheth the goodnes or wasteth y^e sub-
staunce of **Golde**: it abides y^e freating, and licours of **Salt** &
Vinegar wout damage, which weareth any other thing: it
weedes no fire, ere it be made **Golde** as others require, it is
Golde as soone as it is founde; it draweth without wooll,

Why Golde, &
Syluer are este-
med afore al o-
ther mettalles.

A brieft Conceipte

as it were Tallow, it is easily tyed in leaues of maruailous
thinnes: yee may adorne or guild any other mettals with it,
yea Stones and Timber: it is also nothinge inferiour in
commodity of making vessels or other Instrumentes to sil-
uer, but rather purer, cleaner, and moze sweete to kepe a-
ny liquor in. Next him approacheth Silver in commendat-
ions, as in cleannes, beauty, sweetenes, and lightnes. And it
serues not onely to make vessels and other instrumētts, but
it is also spome, but not without Tallow, as Golde may be,
though they could not doe it aforesaid, but with Gold on-
ly, as I haue heard, church Vestures were made onely of
Gold then, and now of late of this Silver being spon with
silke and guilte, they counterfeite the olde excelle of clothe
of Golde and tyllue. Now to speake of other mettalls, yee
see what vles they serue for, whych if these were away
shoulde bee more esteemed. Then I coulde you the raritie
commend the sayd mettals of Golde and Silver, yet moze
the this. For as they do excel in qualities, so Dame nature
seemes to haue layde them by in a further warde, then her
other giftes, to shew vs that all fayre things be rare, and þ
the fayrest thinges as they be hardest to be attained, so they
be most to be esteemed. If a Glasse (as Erasmus sayth wel)
were as rare as silver, it shoulde be as deare as silver, and
not without cause: who could glasse a Window with silver
so as he might keepe out the iniury of the weather, and yet
neuerthelesse receiue the commodity of the light through þ
same to his house, as with glasse he might? And so I might
commend other things for their vles afore Gold or Silver,
as Iron, & Steele, with whom yee may make better tooles
for many necessary vles, then with Gold or Silver: but for
the vles that we talke of, Silver and Golde do clearly ex-
cell al other mettals. I passe ouer that matter: thus I haue
shewed some reason, why these mettals of Golde & Silver
are growen in estimation aboue other.

Why doe Kinges and Princes strike these mettalles and other with a Coyne: but because they would haue that coyne of what value so euer it be, to beare the estate that y^e coine pretendeth, which they did in vaine if they could make the mettall that beareth that, to be neither better nor worse in estimation. The I had as like haue smal gaddes or plats of Silver and Gold without any coyne at al, to go abroade from man to man for exchange.

Why Golde & Syluer were coyned.

Surely the time was so (even amonge the Romaines, when neither brasle, siluer nor golde was coyned:) but were esteemed onely by the weight. And thereof to this day remaineth these vocables of coynes, as Libra, Pondo, Denarius, as Solidus, Denarius, wordes of waights, that afterward were geue to coynes pretending same waights. Also the common officers that waighed these rude mettals were called Libri pendes, whereof we haue mention made in y^e Ciuile lawe: but because in great traffique & assenbly of buyers, & such, it was tedious to tary for y^e weighing of these Mettalles and trying: it was thought good that the Princes should strike those mettals with seuerall markes, for the variety of the waights they were of, to assure y^e Receiuor, the same to be no lesse then the weight it pretended. As for playner example, they strike y^e pounde weight with the marke of the pound, and two olice with the marke of y^e ounce, and so after the variety of y^e waights of other pieces variable markes: whereby began the names of Coyne, so that the people needed not to bee troubled with the weighing and trying of euery piece, beinge assured by the marke of the Prynce, that euery piece contayned the weight that was signified by the marke set on euery one: the Prynces credite was then such amonge their subiects as they doubted nothinge therein. As soone as they attempted to doe otherwise, that is, to marke the halfe pound with y^e marke of the pound, & the halfe ounce with the marke of y^e ounce,

Doctor.

Plini lib. 33
Cap. 3

Sometime brasle, siluer & Golde were weighed before Coyne made,

Inst. de test. ord. §. 1.

A briefe Concept

Why losse cometh of credence.

a while their credite made those coyne currant. As I read among y^e Romaynes practized more then once, but asdone as it was espied, the two pieces of halfe poides went no farther then y^e one piece of a whole pound went before. And at length, as much as they wonne at the first, they lost at the last in payment of their rentes, customes, and duties. And so the nearer East, the further from West. And they consequently lost their credite: much like as I haue knowne certain townes in England to haue done which were wont to make their clothes of a certayne bredth and length, and to set their seales to the same, while they kept the rate truly, straungers did but looke on the seale, and receaue they were, wherby these townes had great bent of theyr clothes and consequently prospered very well. Afterward some in these townes not contented with reasonable gaines conueniall, and desiring more, Deuiled clothes of lesse length, bredth, and goodnesse then they were wont to bee, and yet by the commendation of the seale to haue as much Money for the same as they had before for good clothes, and for a time they gat much, and so abated the credite of theyr predecessors to theyr singular Lucre, which was recompenced with the losse of theyr Posterity. For after these Clothes were founde faulty, for all their seales, they were not only neuer the better trusted, but much lesse for theyr Seale: yea, though their Clothes were well made, for what theyr vntreuth and falshood was espied, then no man would buy theyr clothes, till they were ensearched and vnfoulded, regarding nothing the seale: and yet because they founde them vntreue in some parte, they mistrusted them in other: and so would geue lesse for those clothes, then for any other lyke hauing no Seales to the same, whereby the credite of the said townes was lost, and the townes utterly decayed. Doyee not see, that our Coyne was discredited immediately vpon the alteration of it, in the late yeares of King Henry

the eyghte, specially among Straungers, whych euer be-
foze deliuered to serue vs afoze all other Nations, at all our
needes, for the goodnes of our Coyne: And then they would
let vs haue nothing from them, but onely for our commodi-
ties: as Woolle, Felles, Tallow, Butter, Cheese, Tynne,
and Ledde, & where before time, they were wont to bypge
vs for the same either good Golde or siluer, or els as ne-
cessary commodities agayne, then they sent vs eyther such
trifles as I spake of before: as Glasses, gally Pots, ten-
nice Balles, Papers, Spydels, Brouches, Buttons, Dy-
alles, and such light ware, that standeth them in no charge
or vse, or els (if it be true that I haue heard and as I tolde
you in your eare before) they sent vs Basse for our Trea-
sure of Golde and siluer, and for our sayd commodities, I
warrant you yee saue no Golde nor Siluer broughte ouer
vnto vs, as it was before used, & no maruayle: to what pur-
pose should they bring siluer or Golde thither, whereas the
same was not esteemed? Therefore I haue heard say for a
truth, and I beleue it the rather to bee true because it is
likely, that after that our Coyne was bated and altered:
Straungers counterfeited our Coyne, & founde þ meanes
to haue greete Passes of that transported hither, and here
bittered it well for our olde Golde and siluer, as also for our
chiefe commodities, which thinge I reporte mee vnto you
what inconuenience it might bring vnto this Realme, if it
were suffered, in a small compasse of time.

There be searchers that myght let that matter well
enough if they be true, both for staying of such false Coyne to
come in, and of our old Coyne to goe forth.

I sayd so to the man that tolde mee the same tale that I
tolde you euen now. And he answered me, there were ma-
ny wayes to deceaue the Searchers, if they were neuer so
true, as by putting of the sayde Coyne in their shippes ba-
last or in some vesselles of Coyne or other Liquor transpor-
ted by.

What doe stra-
gers send vs
for our Trea-
sure & chiefe
commodities.

Knight.

Doctor.

Hovv our olde
coyne may bee
transported, &
the Prince or
her officers not
knowing of it.

A brieft Concept

We deuise the
rediest vway to
driue away
our treasure.

ted either vnto vs or from vs : then euery Creake in thys
Realme hath not searchers : And if they had, they bee not
such saintes as would not bee corrupted for money. We
sides this, was there not made proclamations that the olde
coyne, specially of Golde, should not be currant here aboue
such a price : was not that the rediest way to dvyue a way
our golde from vs : euery thing will goe where it is moſte
esteemed, and therfore our treasure went ouer in heapes.

Knight. I beleue well that these were meanes to exhaust y^e olde
treasure fro vs, which yee haue reiected : but how it should
make euery thing so deare among our selues since y^e tyme
(as yee sayd it doth) I cannot yet perceaue the reason.

Doctor. Why : doe yee not perceiue that by reason hereof, wee
payde dearer presently for euery thing that we haue from
beyond the Sea, then wee were wont to doe before :

Knight. That cannot be denyed.

Doctor. By howe much thinke you :

Knight. By the thirde parte well maner of things.

Doctor. Must not they that buy deare, sell deare agayne they
wares :

Knyght. That is true, if they intend to thriue : for hee that selleth
good cheape & buyeth deare, shall neuer thriue.

Doctor. Yee haue your selfe declared the reason, why things w^e
in the Realme proued after that tyme so deare : for we must
buy deare all thinges bought from beyond the sea, & there-
fore wee must sell agayne as deare our thinges, or els wee
make nil bargaynes for our selues. And though that rea-
son maketh it plaine, yet the experience of y^e thinge maketh
it playner : for where yee say that euery thinge bought be-
yond the sea, is commonly dearer by the thirde parte then it
was : doe yee not see y^e same proportion rayſed in our wares
if it be not more :

Why thinges
within the
realme should
be so deare.

Knight. What losse haue wee by this, when wee sell our com-
modities as deare as wee buy others :

I graunt

I gaunte to one sorte of men, I accompt it no losse: yea Doctor.
to some other a Gayne more then any losse, and yet to some
other sorte a greater losse the it is profit to ^{some} other: yea ge-
nerally to the vtter empouerishing of the Realme and wea-
king of the Queenes maiesties power exceedingly.

I pray you what be those sortes that yee meane. And first Knight,
of those that yee thinke should haue no losse hereby?

I meane all these that liues by buying and selling for as
they buy deare they sell thereafter.

What is the next sorte that yee say would win by it? Doctor.

Many all such as haue takinges or fearmes in their Knight.
owne manurance at the olde rent, for where they pay after ^{some had}
the olde rate, they sell after the newe: that is, they pay for ^{gaynes by the}
theyr lande good cheape, and sell all things growing there ^{alteration of}
of deare. ^{the coyns.}

What sorte is that which yee sayde should haue greater Knight.
losse hereby, then these men had profit?

It is all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and all other that liue Doctor.
either by a rented rent or stypend, or doe not Mannure the
ground, or doe occupy no buying or selling.

I pray you peruse these sortes as yee did the other, one Knight.
by one, and by course?

I will gladly: firste the Noblemen, and Gentlemen lyue Doctor.
for the most part on the verely reuenues of their lands and
fees geuen them of the Prince. Then yee know he that may ^{Who had losse}
spend now by such reuenues and fees CCC.li. a yeaer, may ^{by the altera-}
not keepe no better port, then his father, or any other before ^{tion of Coins.}
him, that could spend but nigh CCC.li. and so yee may per-
ceiue it is a great abatement of a mans Countenaunce, to
take away the thirde parte of his liuing: and therefore ge-
ntlemen doe study so much the increase of their Landes and
enhaunsing of their Rentcs, and to take fearmes, and pa-
stures to their owne handes as yee see they doe, and all to
seeke to maintayne their countenaunces as their pdecessors.

105001 **Ser**uants did, and yet they came shorte there in. Some other see-
 ing the charges of householde encrease so much, as by no
 105002 **Ser**uants they can make it can bee holpen: geue ouer their
 105003 **Ser**uants and get them Chambers in London or aboute
 the court, and there spend their time some of them with a
 105004 **Ser**uant or two, where he was wont to keepe thirty or forty
 persons daily in his house, and to doe good in the Coun-
 105005 **Ser**uants, in keeping good order and rule among his neighbors.
 The other sorte be euen Seruingmen, and men of Warre
 that hauing but their olde stented wages, cannot finde the-
 105006 **Ser**uants there with as they might afore time, without ravin
 or spoile. And ye know xii. d. a day now will not go so far as
 105007 **Ser**uants, pence would aforetime. And therefore wee haue men so
 euill willing to serue the Prince now a dayes, from y they
 were wont to bee. Also where xl. shillings a yere was ho-
 105008 **Ser**uants wages for a Yeomen afore this time, and xx. pence a
 weeke boorde wages was sufficient: nowe double as much
 will scarce beare their charge.

105009 **Knight.**

That is longe of theyr excessse, as well in Apparell as in
 fare, for now a dayes Seruingmen goe more costely in ap-
 105010 **Knight**parell, and looke to fare more daintely, then their maisters
 were wont to doe in times past.

105011 **Doctor.**

Of excessse in
 apparell and
 fare.

No doubt that is one great cause of the greater charge
 of householde. For I know when a Seruingman was con-
 105012 **Doctor**tent to go in a Rendall coate in Sommer, and a frile coate
 in winter: and with a plaine white hose made meete for his
 105013 **Doctor**body: And with a peece of beefe or some other dishe of sodde
 meate all the weeke longe. Now he will looke to haue at
 the least for Sommer a coate of the finest cloth that may bee
 gotten for money, and his Hose of the finest Kersey, and
 105014 **Doctor**that of sapor strauing die, as flauenders die, or french puke,
 that a Prince, or great Lord can beare no finer, if he weare
 cloth. Then their coates shalbe garned, cut, & stitched: and
 the breeches of their hose so drawn with silke, that y work-
 105015 **Doctor**manship

manſhip ſhall farre paſſe the pryce of the ſtuffe. And thys
 thing is not reſtrained as it ſhould be, but rather cheriſhed
 of the Maſters, on ſtriving with the other, who may bee
 moſt proude and whoſe retinue may goe moſt lauiſh & gay
 for a time of ſhowe, whereas through ſuch exceſſe they are
 fayne all the reſt of the yere to keepe the fewer ſeruauntes.
 And ſo in exceſſe of meates, they fare at ſome tymes in the
 yere, that in the whole yere after they keepe epyther no
 houſes at all, or if they doe it ſhalbe very ſmal. Like exceſſes
 aſwell in apparell as in fare were uſed in Rome a litle be-
 fore the declination of the Emppyre, ſo aſ wyſe men haue
 thought it was occaſion of the decay thereof. And therefore
 Cato and diuerſe wyſe ſenatours at that time, would haue
 had lawes made for reſtrainte of ſuch exceſſes, and for that
 though the inſolencie of ſome, that maintained the contra-
 ry, blame were not vily executed, much pride enſued there,
 and of pride diuiſion: and through deuſion utter deſolation
 of the comon weale. I pray God this Realme may beware
 by that example ſpecially London the head of the emppyre,
 where ſuch exceſſes (by reaſon the Wealth almoſt of thys
 Realme is heaped there by, as the Corne of a field into a
 barn) be moſt uſed: for in other parties commonly of thys
 Realme, the lawe of neceſſity keepes men in a good caſe for
 exceeding either in apparell or fare. I thinke wee were as
 much dreadd more of our enemies, when our Gentlemen
 went ſimply, and our Seruingmen plainly, without Cuts
 or gards bearing their heauy Swordes and Bucklers on
 their thighes inſtead of cuts and Gardes and light daunſing
 Swordes: and when they rode carying good Speares in
 theyr handes in ſtead of white rods, which they cary now more
 like ladies or gentlewomen then men, all which delicacyes
 maketh our men cleane effeminate & without ſtrength.

We may thanke our longe peace & quiet within þ realm Knight.
 that men be not forced to ride ſo ſtrong. It was a troublous
 world

A brieue Conceipte

world as well within the Realme as without, when men went and rode as you do speake.

Doctor.

In peace looke
for ywarre.

What can you tell, what time or how sone such a world may come again. Wise men do say, that in peace men must looke and prouide for warre, and in warre again for peace. If men might be alwaies sure of peace, then needed no mā to keepe men at all. But sith it is otherwise, and that p i-
niquitie of men is such, as they cannot bee longe wythoute warre. And that we reckon heere in Englande our chiefe strength to be in our Seruingmen & yeomen, it were wise-
dome to exercise them in tyme of peace somewhat wyth such apparell, fere and hardenes, as they muste needes sustayne in time of warre, then the same shall bee no nouelty to the when they come to it: and theyr bodies shall bee strong and harder to beare that, that they were somewhat accustomed withall afore. Let this that I say be of no credite, if detica-
cie and federnes was not the most occasion of the subduing of the greatest Emperres that were.

Knight.

Surely ye say very wel and that which soundeth to good reason. I must needes alowe y I haue found true my selfe, for my men are so tenderly bled in time of peace, that they can not atway with any heauy armour in time of warre, but either shirts of Maille or Coates of linnen ragges, which at a shotte may perhaps deceyue vs. Then what saye you by our buildinges that wee haue here in Englande of late dayes, far more excessive then at any time heretofore. Doth not that impouerish the Realme & cause men to keepe lesse Houses?

Doctor.

I say that all these thynges be tokens & Ornamentes of peace, and that no doubt is cause of lesse Householde: sith the buildinges and trimming of those houses spendes away that, that should be other wise spēt in household. But it doth not empouerish the Realme at all, for all the expences of buildinges, for the most part is spent amonges our selues & amonges

amonges our neyghbours and Countrey men: As amonges Carpenters, Malons, and Labourers, except men will fall to guilding or peynting of these Houses. For in that much treasure may be spent, and to no use. Also the Arches, Uerders, and Tapistry workes wherewith they bee hanged commonly, conueieth ouer into Flaunders & other straunge Countreyes (where they be had from) much of our Treasure.

Yet I must remember you of one thing more, which Knight men do suppose to be a great occasion of the spendinge of the treasure abroad: & it is, where there is comen to y^e crown of late yeares much lands by reason of Monasteries, colleges, and Chauncres dissolued, which men suppose hath bene the cause two maner of waies, that there is lesse treasure abroad in the Realme. One is because the reuenues of the sayd places dissolued heretofore, were spent in the countrey, and went from hand to hande there, for Vittayle, cloth and other thinges: and now are gone to one place out of y^e countrey. Another is that diuers men whych had any ryches or wealth vttered the same, to buy peruelles of the sayd dissolued landes lying commodities for them, whereby one way & other the whole riches of the countrey is swept away.

Truth it is also, that it wynged the countrey abroad for the time, and had kept it so still if the Kynge's Maiestye had not disperled the same lands abroad amonge the in the countrey againe, but after y^e his highnes departed with a great deale of those possessions, part by gift and part by sale: treasure hath and will encrease againe abroad, as much as euer it was, if it be not letted by other meanes: so that I take y^e to be no great cause of the dearth that we haue, for the foyle is not taken away, but the possession thereof is onely transferred from one kinde of persons to another.

Then to retourne to the matter of the Coyne where wee

A brieft Concepte

Ist. I haue heard your conceipte how the alteration thereof, within our Realme did some Men no harme, as Buyers and sellers: some other it dyd good vnto, as Farmers, that had Lande at the olde Rent: and some other as Gentlemen, men of warre, seruants, and all other, lyuing by a myrated or stented rent or stipend, were great losers by it. But I heard you say it was so much withall to the losse of the Prynce, that it might be to the great perill of the whole Realme in proccesse of time, I meruaile how it shoulde bee so, for I hearde wise men say, that the Queenes hignesse: Father did winne inestimable great summes, by the alteration of the Coyne.

Doctor,

How the alteration of the Coyne should be most losse to the Prince.

So it was for the time, but I liken that gaines to such as men haue when they sell away their Lands, to haue the greater some at one time, and euer after, to loose the continual increase what should grow therof. For you knowe all the treasure of this Realme, must once in few yeares come to the Prynces handes by one meanes or other, and from thence it should goe abroad againe to the Subiects. As all Springes runneth to the Ocean Sea, & out of it are they spred abroad againe: then as they came into þings coffers, at the first in good mettall, they came forth in such as you haue heretofore seene. And albe it seemeth at þ first to empouerish the but the subiects only, at length it empouerisheth also the Prynce: and then if the Prynce should want in time of warre, specially sufficient treasure to pay for armour, weapons, tacklings of shippes, gunnes, and other artillery necessary for þ warre, and could by no meanes haue of the subiectes wherewith to buy þ same, what cause should the Realme be in? Surely in very euill, & therefore these Coynes and Treasure be not without cause called of wyse men, Nerui bellorum (þ is to say) the Synowes of Warre. And that is the greatest danger that I doe consider, the olde growne for want of treasure to the Prynce and the Realme.

for

For though a Prince may haue what coyn he will currant
within his Realme, yet the straungers cannot be com-
pelled to take them. And I graunt, if men might liue within
themselves, all together without borrowinge of any other
thing outward, we might deuise what coyn we would:
but since wee must haue neede of other and they of vs, wee
must frame our things not after our owne phantasies, but
to followe the common market of all the worlde: and wee
may not set the price of things at our pleasure, but follow
the price of the vniuersall Market of the World. I graunt
also that Basle hath bene copied ere this yea: Leather in
some places. But euer I reade, that was at an extreme
need, which thing is not to bee followed as an example,
but to be eschewed as longe as possible may be. And if our
treasure be farre spent and exhaust (as it hapened in the la-
ter yeares of Kinge Henry the eight) I could wish that a-
ny other order were taken for the recovery of it, then the de-
prauing of our coines, which serueth the Prince but a litle
while, for some present thifte, and hindered him a longe time
afterwardes. I am perswaded that within our Realme
treasure might bee soone recovered by these two meanes:
first if we forbad the bringing in and selling of so many tri-
fles as I before reherled to be brought vs from beyond the
sea, & that nothing made beyond the sea of our owne com-
modities should be sold heere. And secondly, if we forbad that
none of our commodities should passe vnwrought ouer sea,
which being wrought here and sold ouer should bring in
infinite treasure in shorte time.

But our way is contrary to the opinions of many Knight,
my a great wise man, which thinke it better pass our wools
here sold ouer so vnwrought, then any clothiers should
be set a worke withall, within this realme.

That were a strange thing in myne opinion, that any
man should thinke so, and what should mooue them to be
of that

Doctor.

A briefe Conceipte

of that opinion I pray you:

Knight,

Whether all
our Wooll
were expedient
to be sold o-
uer ynuyrought

I will tell you. They take it that all insurrections & uproares for the most parte, do rise by occasion of these clothiers: For when clothiers lack vent ouer sea, then is a great multitude of these clothiers idle: And when they be idle, the they assemble in companies and murmur for lack of liuing and so picke one quarrell or other to stirre the poore comynalty that bee as idle as they, to a commotion. And sometimes by occasion of warres there muste needes bee some stay of Clothes, so as they cannot haue alwayes lyke sale or vent: at euery which time if the sayd Clothiers should take occasion of commotion, they thinke it were better that there were none of them in the Realme at all, and consequently that y^e wall were vttered vnyrought ouer sea, then to haue it wrought here.

Doctor,

So it may seeme to them that considereth one inconuenience, and not another. Surely who soeuer hath many persons vnder his Gouvernauce, shall haue much a doe to gouerne them in quietnesse: and hee that hath a greates family shall haue sometimes trouble in ruling of them. It were but a meane Pollicy eyther for a Prince to diminish hys number, or for a Maister of a house to put away his Seruants, because he would not haue any trouble with y^e gouernauce of them: he that would so doe, might be well resembled to a man that should sell his land because he would not bee troubled with the accompt of it. I thinke it meete that we did not onely encrease y^e feate of clothing, but also intend diuers other mo feates & occupations, whereby our People mighte bee set a worke, rather then take away any occupation from them: specially such as clothinge is, that setteth so many thousandes a worke, and enryche both Towne and Countrey. Where it is occupied in Venice, as I haue heard, and in many other places beyond Sea, they rewarde and chearish euery man that brings in any

any newe Arte, or mistery, whereby the people might bee
set a worke, with such thinges as shoulde both finde their
workemen, and also bringe some treasure or other commo-
dity into the Countrey. And shall we contrariwise labour
to destroy our best and most profitable trade, which is by
clothing? I would know what thing els might bringe us
treasure from straunge parties, or wherewith shoulde so
many of our people be set a worke as haue now their ly-
uings by clothing, if that occupation were layde downe?

Mysteries are
to be increased
rather than di-
minished.

Many wee might haue treasure ynough from outwarde Knight.

Parties for our Woollens, though none were brought
within the Realme: And as for an Occupation to set our
Clothiers a worke, they might be set to the Plough and
husbandry, and that shoulde make husbandry to be the moze
occupied, & grasing lesse, when all these people that nowe
doe occupy clothing, shoulde fall to husbandry.

As to the first, that yee sayd, that Wooll is sufficient to
bring in treasure: if it were (as it is not in deede) yet that
feate were not for the Weale, nor for continuance of the
Realme. For when every man would fall to breede sheepe
and to increase wooll, and so at length all other occupa-
tions shoulde bee set a side, and breeding of sheepe onely oc-
cupied: then yee knowe that a fewe sheepe maisters would
serue for a whole Shyre: & so in procelle of time þ multi-
tude of the subiectes shoulde be worne away, and none lesse
but a fewe Shepherdes, which were no number sufficient
to serue the Prince at neede, or to defend this realme from
Enemies. As to the other parte of your tale, whereby yee
would that these Clothiers shoulde fall from that occupa-
tion to husbandry: how coulde so many added to them that
occupy husbandry already, get their lyuinge by the same,
when they that bee husbandmen nowe, haue but a small
lyuinge thereby? And if yee would saye to mee that
they shoulde haue at all times, free vent and full Sale of
their

Doctor.

judgment

to send out I
should be a

to send out I
should be a

R... their

A briefe Conceipte

their Corne ouer sea, then cometh the same inconuenience in that yee thought to auoide before, by putting them from clothing. For some yerres it should happē either for warres or by reason of plenty in all parties beyonde the Sea, that they should haue no vent of their corne, and then bee dyuied to be idle, and consequently for lacke of liuing to assemble together, and make like hyproares as yee spake of before. They haue in Fraunce more handy craftes occupied, and a greater multitude of Artificers, then wee haue here, by a greate deale: and for all that they haue made many greate Curres, and commotions there before this: yet they wil not destroy artificers, for they know that y^e highest Princes of them all, without such artificers could not mainteine their estate. Doth not all their towles, customes, taxes, tallages, and subsidies chiefly growe by such artificers? What king can mainteine his Estate with his yearly reuenues onely growing of his landes? For as many seruantes in a house well set a worke, gaine every man somwhat to their master: So doth every artificer in a Realme, ech gaine some what, & altogether a great masse to the king & his Realme every yere it bringeth.

Knight.

Three sortes of
Artificers.One bringeth
out our Trea-
sure.

And now because we are entred into communication of artificers, I will make this diuision of them. Some of the doe but conuey money out of the countrey: Some other that which they get, they do spend againe in the countrey. And y^e third sorte of Artificers is of them that doe bring in Treasure into the countrey. Of the first sort I reckon al mercers, Grocers, Vintners, Haberdashers, Milleners, and such as do sell wares growing beyond the sea, and do fetch out our treasure for the same, which kinde of artificers as I reckē them tollerable, yet not so necessary in a common Weale, but they might be best spared of al other. Yet if we had not other Artificers to bringe in as much treasure as they doe carry

carry forth, wee should be great losers by them. Of the second sorte bee these: Shoemakers, Tailors, Carpenters, Balons, Tylers, Bouchers, Brewers, Bakers, and Giltailers of all sortes, which like as they get their living in countrey, so they spend it; but they bring in no treasure unto vs. Therefore we must chearely sell the third sort. And those be Clothiers, Tanners, Cappers, and Waxedmakers, onely that I know, (which by their Distilleries and faculties) do bring in any treasure: As for our wolle, selles, Linne, Ledde, Butter and Cheese, these bee commodities that the Ground beareth, requiring the industry of a few persons, and if wee should onely trust to such and devise nothing els to occupy our selues with, a few persons would serue for the rearing of such thinges, and few also it would finde; and so should our realme be but like a grange better furnished with beastes then with men, whereby it might be subiecte to the spoyle of other Nations aboute, which is the more to be feared and eschued; because the countrey of his owne kinde is apte to bringe forth such thinges as bee for encrease of cattell; then for such thinges as be for nourishment of men. If Pomponius Mela be to be believed, which describing this Islande sayeth thus. *Plana, ingens, & ferax: sed eorum que pecora, quam homines benignius alant*: That is to say, it is playne, large, and plentiful: but of these things that nourisheth Beastes more kindly then men. So many Forrestes, Chases, Parkes, Marches, and waste groundes, being more here, then most commonly els where: declaring the same not to be all in vayne, that hee affirmeth. It hath not so much erable Grounde, Tynes, Dyues, Fruites, and such as bee both moste necessary for the foode of men. And as they requyre many hands in their culture, so they finde most persons foode, as Fraunce and diuerse other Countreies haue. Therefore as much grounde

Another speeche that they get in the same countrey a gayne.

The third sort bring in treasure, and therefore must be cherished.

Pompo. Me.

as is here apte for these thinges would be tourned as much as may be to such vles as may finde mosse persons. And ouer that towne and Cities would be replenished with all kinde of Artificers: not onely clothiers, which is as it were our naturall occupation, but with Tappers, Glouers, Paper makers, Glasiers, Paynters, Golde smithes, blacke smithes of all sortes, Couerlet makers, needle makers, pinners and such other, so as we should not onely haue ynough of such thinges to serue our Realme and saue an infinite treasure, that goeth now ouer for many of the same: but also might spare of such thinges ready wrought to be solde ouer, whereby we should fetch agayne other necessary commodities of treasure. And this shoulde both replenish the Realme of People able to defende it; and also saue & win much treasure to the same. Such occupations alone do enrich diuers countreyes that be else barren of them selues. And what riches they bring to the Countreies where they be well vfed, The Countrey of Flaunders, and Germany do well declare, where through such occupations it hath so many, & eke so wealthy Cities, y it were almost incredible so litle ground: to sustaine so much people. Therefore in my minde they are far wide of right consideration, y would haue either none or els lesse clothing win this Realme, because it is sometime occasion of busines & tumults, which cometh for lacke of vent. There is nothing euery way so comodious or necessary for mans vie, but it is sometimes by ill handling occasion of some displeasure, no not fier and water th it be so necessary as nothing can be more.

Knight.

Yea maister Doctor we stand not in like case as Fraunce or Flaunders that yee spake of: if they haue not venty one way, they may haue it another way alwayes, for the firme land is rounde about them in manner. If they bee at warre with one Neighbour, they will bee friends with another to whose

Mysteries doe
enrich coun-
tries that be
els barren.

to whole Countreyes they may sende theyr commodities to sell.

So may wee bee, if wee were so wylse, to keepe one **Doctor.**
 Friende or other alwayes in hande. Who will bee so mad
 being a Private man, but hee will bee sure to doe so? Let
 wylse men consider what Friendes this Realme hath had
 in time past. And if they bee nowe lost or intercepted ano-
 ther way since, let vs purchase other for them: or els giue
 as litle occasion of breache with our Neighbour as may
 bee. The Wylse man as I remēber, sayth in Ecclesiastes:
 Non est bonum homini esse solum.

Aliaunce with
 straungers are
 to be purchased
 and kept.

Also in Fraunce they haue diuerse Bandes of men in
 Armes, in diuerse places of the Realme, to repressse such
 Tumults quickly if any should arise. If wee had the like
 heere, wee might bee bould to haue as many Artificers
 as they haue.

Knyght.
 When great
 Armies be as ne-
 cessary heere as in
 Fraunce.

G D D sworbete, that euer wee should haue any such
 Tyrantes come among vs: for as they say, such will in
 Countrey of Fraunce take poore mens Venises, Chikens
 Pigges, and ocher prouision, and pay nothinge for it, ex-
 cept it bee an ill turne: as to Rauishe his Wylse, or his
 Daughters for it. And euen in like manner sayd the Par-
 chaunt man adding thereto, that hee thought that woulde
 rather bee an occasion of Commotions to bee stirred then
 to bee quenched. For (as hee sayd) the Stomacks of En-
 glishe men would neuer beare to suffer such Iniuries, and
 Reproches, as hee hearde that such vsed to doe to the Sub-
 iects of Fraunce, which in reproche they call Defaunts.

Husband.

May the Prynce mighte restrayne them well ynough,
 for doing Outrages vpon great paynes.

Knight.

What if it were skant in his power to do it? **Doctor.**
 Had sometimes such men of armes in diuerse places for de-
 fence of the Emperre, it was thought, that at length it ouer-
 threw

A brieft Conceipt

thetwe the same. Iulius Caesar doth that declare: and many times after that when the Emperors dyed, the men of warre Erected what Emperoz they lysted, sometime of a Slave or a Bondman contrary to the Election of the Senate of Rome, being chiefe Counsaylors of y^e Emppye, till the whole Emppye was cleane destroyed. It is not for commotions of Subiects, that Fraunce also keepeth such: but the state and necessity of the Countrey which is inuironed about with enemies, and neither sea nor wall betwene the, against whose Inrodes and inuasion they mayntayne those mē of warre of necessity. They would faine lay the downe, if they durst for feare of their neighbours. And some wyle men among them haue sayd and written, that the same mē of Armes may bee the Destruction of their Kingdome at length. And beside that the largenesse of our Dominion, or Situation of the same towarde other Countreies, doth not require such men, nor yet the reuencwes of this realme is able to make by the like number with Fraunce: And the if we should make a lesse number, wee should declare our selues inferiour in power to Fraunce, to whom wee haue bene hetherto counted Superiour in successes, through the stoutnesse of our Englishe hearts. And therefore I would not haue a small Soze cured by a greater grieve, nor for a nuydinge of populer Sedition, which happeneth very sel-dome and soone quenched, to bringe in a continuall yoke & charge both to the Prince and the people.

A lesse grieve
would not be
holpen ywith a
grearfore.

Knight. You say well, and so as I can say no more against your sentence, but yet I would wishe your saying coulde satisfie other men as well as it doth mee.

Doctor. Well, it is nowe time to make an ende. I haue troubled you heere with a tedious and longe talke.

Knight. I could be content to be troubled longer of that sorte.

Marchaunt. And so coulde wee, though it were all this day, but for
& Capper, troubling of your selfe gentle maister Doctor.

Yet the

Yet the most necessary poynte which wee spake of is yet
behinde: that is, how these thinges may be remedied: And
therefore wee will not goe from you till wee haue hearde
your aduice heerein.

A Gods name, I will shewe my phantasie in that parte:
But let vs firste goe to supper. And so wee went together
to our Supper, where our Hoste had prepared honestly
for vs.

THE

THE THYRD DIA-
logue, wherein are deuised

*some Remedies for the same
Griefes.*

Knight.



Fter wee had well

refreshed our selues at supper, I thought long till I had knowne þ iudgement of maister Doctor, about the remedies of the thinges aboue remēbre, how hee thought they might bee best redressed, and with least dainger or alteration of things. (And therefore I sayd vnto him thus:) Since pee haue declared vnto vs (good maister Doctor) our diseases and also the occasions thereof, we pray you leaue vs not destitute of conuenient remedies for the same. You haue perswaded vs full, and wee perceauē it well our selues, that wee are not now in so good state as wee haue bene in times past: And you haue shewed vs probable occasions that hath brought vs to that case, therefore now we pray you shewe vnto vs, what mighte remedye these our griefes.

Doctor.

When a man doth perceauē his griefe, and the occasion also of the same, hee is in a good way of amendment. For knowing the occasion of the griefe, a man may soone auoide the same occasion: and that being auoyded, the griefe is also taken away. For as the philosopher sayth: Sublata causa tollitur effectus. But let vs brieely recount þ griefes and then the occasions thereof: and thirdly goe to the inquisition of the remedies for the same. First this vniuersall

deartly,

dearth in comparifon of y^e former age, is y^e chiefest griefe y^e all men complaines moft on. Secondly Inclofures, & turning of erable Grounde to pasture. Thirdly decayinge of Townes, Towneshippes, and Villages, and last deuifion & diuerfite of opinions in religion. The occafions or caufes of thefe, although I haue befoze diuerfely declared after the diuerfite of mens myndes and opinions. Yet heere I will take out of the fame, But onely fuch as thinke verely to bee the very iuft occafions in deede. For as I fhewed you befoze, diuers men diuerfely iudge, this or that to be the caufe or occafion of thys or that gryefe, and becaufe there may be diuers caufes of one thinge, and yet but one p^rincipall caufe, that byngeth forth the thinge to paffe: Let vs feeke oute y^e caufe, omitting all the meane caufes, whych are driuen forward by the leaft or y^riginall caufe. As in a p^reffe going in at a ftraight, the formoft is driuen by him that is nexte hym, & the next by him that followes him, and the thyrde by fome violent and ftronge thinge that d^ryueth hym forward, which is the firft and p^rincipall caufe of the puttynge forward of the reft afore him. If he were kept backe and ftayed, al they that goe afore would ftay withal. To make this moze plain vnto you: as in a clocke there be many wheelles, yet the firft wheele beinge ftyred it d^ryueth the next, and that the thyrde &c. till the laft that moues the Inftrument that ftyckes the clock. So in making of an houfe, there is the Mayfter that would haue the houfe made, there is the Carpenter, & there is the fuffe to make the houfe with al: y^e fuffe neuer ftirres till the Workeman do fet it forward, the workeman neuer trauailes but as y^e maifter prouoketh him wth good wages, and fo he is the p^rincipall caufe of thys houfe making. And this caufe is of y^e learned called efficient: as that, y^e byngeth the p^rincipall thing to effect. Perfwade this man to let this building alone, and the houfe fhall neuer come to paffe, yet the houfe can not bee made wthout the fuffe, and worke-

The originall
caufe in every
thing is to be
fearched

A brieffe Conceipte

Diuersē sortes
of causes there
bee.

Manighe coll
yous in shir
ed of a quid
L. 5.

Cic. top.
Li. 5.

Sublata cau-
sa tollitur
effectus.

men, and therefore they be called of some cause sine quibus non, and of some other Materiales, & Formales, but all cometh to one purpose. It is the efficient cause, & is, the principall cause, without remouing of which cause & thing that cannot be remedied. And because that it was grafted in every mans iudgement, & the cause of any thing being taken away, the effecte is taken away withall. Therefore Ben took the causes of these thynges that we talke of without Iudgement, not discerning the principall cause from the meane causes, that by taking away of these causes that bee but secondary as it were, they were neuer the neare to remedy the thing they went about. Much lyke the wyfe of Aiax that lost her husband in & shippe called Argos, wished & chose ffire beames had neuer bene felled in Peleias wood, wherof the sayd shippe was made, when that was not the efficient cause of the loosing of her husbände, but & wild fire cast in the said shippe, which did set it a fyre. Such causes as they be, be called remote, as it were to farre of: so they bee also idle and of no operation of themselves, without some other to set them a worke. And percase I (whyle I degresse so farre from my matter) shalbe thought to goe as far from the purpose, yet to come to our matter, and to app'ly thys & I haue sayde to the same. Some thinkes this Dearth begimmes by the tenaunt in selling his wares so deare: & some other by the Lord in reysing his land so high. And some by these inclosures. And some other by the reysing of our coine or atteration of the same. Therefore some by taking some one of these things away (as theyr opinion serued them to be the principall cause of this dearth) thought to remedye this dearth, But as the tryall of the thyng shewed they touched not the cause efficient principall: and therefore theyr deuise tooke no place: and if they had, the thinge had ben remedied sothwith, for that is proper to the principall cause that as soone as it is taken away the effecte is remoued also.

¶

Yet I confesse al these thinges rayseth together with this
dearth, that euery of them should seeme to be the cause of
it: neuerthelesse that is no good prooffe that they should bee
the causes of it, no more then was the Steele made at Do-
uer, the cause of the decay of the Haven of Dover, because
the Haven began to decay the same time, that the Steele
began to be builded. Nor yet, though some of these because
of the other in deede, yet they be not all the efficient causes
of this dearth. For as I haue sayd before of men thrusting
one another in a thronge one buyning another, and but one
first of al, that was the chiefe cause of that force: So in this
matter that we talke of, there is some one thing that is the
originall cause of these causes, that be as it were secondary
and makes them to be the causes of other. As I take y^e ray-
sing of al prices of victuals at y^e husbandmans hand, is cause
of the raysing of y^e rent of his land. And y^e Gentlemen fall so
much to take scarmes to theyr hands least they bee driuen
to buy theyr poullion to deare, that is a great cause againe
that Inclosure is the more vled: For Gentlemen hauinge
much land in their hand and not being able to weilde all &
see it manured in hur bandy, which requyret the industry
laboure and gouernance of a greate many of persons, doe
conuerter moſte of that Lande to Pastures, wherein is re-
quyred both lesse charge of Persons, and of the which ne-
uerthelesse commeth more cleare gaires. Thus one thyng
hanges vpon another, and sets forwarde one another, but
one first of all is y^e chiefe cause of all this circular motion &
impulsion. I shewed ere while, that y^e chiefe cause was not
in the husbandman, nor yet in y^e Gentleman. Let vs see whe-
ther it were in the marchaunt man. It appeareth by reason
that all wares bought of him are dearer now far then they
were wont to be, the husbandman is dyuen to sel his com-
modities dearer: now y^e matter is brought to maister mar-
chaunt, how can yee auoyde the cause from being in you?

A briefe Conceipte

Marchaunt. Sir easily ynough, for as wee sell now dearer al thinges then wee were wont to do: So wee buy dearer all thinges of straungers: and therefore let them put the matter from vs, for we will disburden our selues of this fault.

Doctor. And they be not here to make aunswere, if they were, I woulde aske them why they sell their wares dearer nowe then they were wont to doe?

Marchaunt. Hary and to that I hearde many of them aunswere ere this (when they were asked that question) two manner of wayes. One was they selled in deede no dearer then they were wont to do: saying for prooffe thereof, that they would take for theyr commodities, as much and no moze of our commodities then they were wont to do. As for our too of woll they would giue as much Wyne, Spice or Silke as they were wont to geue for so much. Pea for an ounce of our silver or golde, as much stufte as euer was geuen for y same. And their otheer aunswere was y if we reckened they did sell their wares dearer because they demaunded moe pieces of our coyne for the same then they were wont to do, that was not their fault they saide but oures, that made our pieces lesse or lesse worth then they were in times past. Therefore they demaunded the moe pieces of them for their Wares: saying, they cared not what names wee woulde giue oure coynes, they would consider y quantity & right value of it, that they were esteemed at euery where throughe y world.

Knyght. Then I would haue answered the there of this sorte. If they came hether but for our commodities, what made it y matter to them, what quantity or value our coyne were. If so they might haue as much of our commodities for y same as they were wont to do. If they came againe for our silver and golde, It was neuer lawfull, nor yet is expedient they should haue any from vs. Therefore I would thinke that was no cause why they should sell theyr wares dearer then they were wonte to doe.

Then

Then he might haue answered againe, that it chaunced not all wayes together, that when they had wares which we wanted, we had againe al those wares y they looked for. And therefore they hauinge percase more wares necessary for vs, then we had of such wares as they looked for, would be glad to receiue of vs such stufte currant in most places, as might buy that they looked for else where at their pleasure: And that they will say was not our coyne. And as for our lawes of not transporting ouer sea any Gold or siluer, they passed not thereof, so they mighte haue the same once conueyed thē. As they had many waies to haue it so, which I haue before remembred. Finally hee might say that we had not in deede our coyne in that estate our selues, that by the name they pretended, but esteemed both the value & quantity of the stufte it was made of. For if they had brought vnto vs halfe an ounce of silver, wee would not take it for an ounce: nor if they brought vs brasse mingled with silver, we would not take it for pure silver, and if wee would not take it so at their handes, why should they take it otherwise at ours? Then they saw no man heere but would rather haue a cup of silver thē of brasse, no not the maister of our mints though they would otherwise perswade, the one to be as good as the other. Therefore seeing vs esteeme the one in deede better then the other, as all the world doth beside, why should they not esteeme our coine after y quantity and value of the substance thereof, both after the rate it was esteemed amonge vs, & also euery other where? And so as in moe pieces now there is but the value that was in fewer pieces afore, therefore they demanded greater number of pieces, but yet the like value in substance that they were wont to demand for their wares. Now let vs see whether now goeth the cause of this matter? from the strangers: For me thinkes he hath reasonably excused himselfe & put it from him.

A briefe Conceipt

Knight. By your tale it must bee in the coyne, and consequently in the Kinges highnes by whose commaundement y^e same was altered.

Doctor. Yea percase it goes further yet: yea to such as were the first counsaillours of that decde, pretending it should bee to his highnes greate and notable commoditie, whych if hys grace mought haue perceiued to haue ben but a momentain profit, and continuall losse both to his highnes and also his whole Realme. Yec with his people might haue ben easly rauoked againe, from y^e practise of that simple deuise. But as a man that entendeth to heale an other by a Medicine y^e he thinketh good, though it prooue otherwise, is not much to be blamed: no more was the kinges maiesty in any wyle, (in whose time this was don, which is not to be supposed to haue intended thereby any losse, but rather commoditie to himselfe and his subiects) to be herein reprehended, albeit the thing succeeded beside the purpose.

Knight. Then yee thinke plainly y^e this alteration of y^e coine was the chiefe and principall cause of this vniuersall dearth?

Doctor. Yea no doubt, and of many of y^e sayd grieues that we haue talked of, by meanes it beinge the ovygynall of all, and that beside the reason of the thing beinge plaine inough of it selfe: also experience & prooffe doth make it more playne. For euen with y^e alteration of y^e coine began this dearth, and as the coine appayzed so rose the prices of thinges with all: & this to be true, y^e few pieces of olde coine which afterwarde remained, did testifie: for yee shoulde haue for any of y^e same coine as much of any ware either outward or inward as euer was wont to be had for the same. For as the measure is made lesse, there goeth more number to make up the tale, and because this rayled not together at all mens handes, therefore some hath greate losses, and some other greate Gaynes thereby, and that made such a generall grudge for the thinge at the firste time. And thus to conclude
I thinke

That the alteration of the coine was the very cause of this dearth and consequently of other grieues euer since that time.

I thinke this alteration of þ Coine to haue ben þ first original cause, that straingers first sould their wares dearer to vs, and that made all Farmors, and Tenaunts, th it reared any comodity agiane to sell þ same dearer. The Dearth ther eof made the Gentlemen to rayse their rents, & to take Farmes to their handes for their better prouision, and consequently, to inclose more Groundes.

If this were the chiefest cause of the dearth, as if very good probability (by you maister Doctor) heere tofore alleged, it should seeme to be: how cometh it to passe (where as you say, if the cause be remoued, the effect is also taken away) that the ppyces of all thinges fall not backe to theyr olde rate, whereas now long sithence our english coyne (to the great honour of our noble Princeesse which now reigneth) hath bene again thoroughly restored to his former purity and perfection?

In deede sir I must needes confesse vnto you (although it may seeme at the first sighte to discredite my former sayings in some parte) that notwithstanding that our Coyne at this present day, yea and many yeares past, hath recouered his aunciente goodnesse, yet the dearth of all thynges, which I before affirmed to haue proceeded of the decay thereof, to remayne and continue still amongst vs. Therefore as your doubt here in moued very aply, and to þ purpose, is well worthy the consideration: so doe I accompte it of such difficulty, þ perhaps it would not be thought to stande wyth modesty, to undertake without farther study present, to dissolve the same.

So, I pray you for this time omit the pleadinge of modesty. I vnderstand wel ynough by your former talke, that you are not vnprouided of sufficient force (without farther deliberation) to satisfie vs withall, in greater matters (if neede were) then these.

Well, I am content (because you wyll haue it so) to

Knight.

Doctor.

Knight.

Doctor.

yeild

A briefe Conceipt

peelbe to your importunity. I will vtter franchely vnto you
myne Opinion herein, but vnder proffession, that if you
like it not, yee rect it, imparting likewise with mee your
owne Phantasies and Iudgements in the same. I fynde
therefore two speciall causes in myne Opinion, by means
of the which, notwithstanding y restitution made in our coin,
the aforesayd dearth of things (in respect of the former age)
remaineth yet among vs. The first is, that whereas imme-
diately after the basenesse of our Coyne in the time of kynge
Henry the eight, y prices of all things generally among al
sorts of people, rose: it must needes happen here withal (as
yee know) that our gentlemen which liued onely vpon y re-
uenues of their lands, were as neare or nearer touched (as
is before proued) with the smarte hereof, then any other of
what order or estate so euer. Thys therefore being takē as
most true, the Gentlemen desirous to mayntaine theyr for-
mer credite in bearing out y Porte of theyr Predecessors,
were diuen of necessity as often as whensoever any Lea-
ses deuised for terme of yeares, by theselues or their Aun-
cestors were thoroughly crypted, & sel into theyr handes, not
to let them out agayne for the most part, but as the rents of
them were farre racked beyond the old: Yea this rackynge
and hoyling vp of Rentes hath continued euer since y tyme,
vntill this present day: Whereupon the husbandman was ne-
cessarily inforced, whereas his rent was now greater then
before (and so continueth vnto this day) to sel his Victayles
dearer, & to continue the dearth of them: and likewise other
artificers withall to maintaine the like proportion in theyr
wares, wherefore as this dearth at the first tyme (as I said
before) sprang of the alteration of the coyne, as of his firste
and chiefest efficient cause: so doe I attribute the continu-
ance of it hither vnto and so forwarde, partely to the racked
and stretched rentes which haue lasted, yea, and increased
euer since that tyme hether vnto, & so are like to continue I
knowe

know not how long. Now if we would in these our dayes, haue the olde pennyworthes generally restored among vs a gayne, The restoring of our good Coine, which already is past, & before y^e improved rentes would only of it selfe haue ben sufficiēt to haue brought this matter to passe, will not serue in these our dayes, except shall the racked rentes bee pulled downe, which possibly cannot be wth the cōmon consent of our landedmē throughout y^e whole realme. Another reason I conceiue in this matter, to be y^e great store & plenty of treasure, which is walking in these partes of y^e world, far more in these our dayes, thē euer our forefathers haue sene in times past. Who doth not vnderstand of y^e infinite sums of gold & siluer, whych are gathered from y^e Indies & other countries, & so yearely transported vnto these coastes? As this is o^rherwise most certain, so doth it euidently appeare by the cōmō report of al assicient men liuing in these daies. It is their cōstant report, y^e in times past & within y^e memory of mā, he hath ben accounted a rich & wealthy mā, & wel able to keepe house among his neighbors, which (al things discharged) was clearly worth xxx. or xl. l. but in these our dayes y^e man of y^e estimatiō, is so far (in the cōmon opiniō) from a good houl keeper, or man of wealth, y^e he is reputed the next neighbor to a begger. Wherefore these ii. reasons seemed vnto me to cōtain in them sufficient probability for causes of the continuance of this generall dearth.

W^ea, but (sir) if the increate of treasure be partly the occasion of this continued dearth: then by likelihood in other our neighbors nations, vnto whom yearely is conuayghed great store of gold and siluer, the p^rices of Victayles, and other wares in like sort, is rayled according to the increase of their treasure?

It is euen so, and therefore to vetter freely myne Opinion (as I account it a matter very hard for the difficulties aboue reherſed) to reuoke or call backe agayne al our En-

Abrise Conceipee

gill the wares into their old pyces: so doe I not take it to be either profitable or conuenient for the Realme, excepte wee would wishe that our commodities should bee vttered good cheape to straingers, and theirs on y other side deare vnto vs: which could not be without great impouerishinge of the Commonweale, in a very short time.

Knight.

Now that you haue so well touched the occasion of this death, and what is to be hoped or wished of y same so fully, that I am well satisfied withall. I pray you shewe mee the remedies of this great Inclosing, whereof all the Realme complaineth of so much, and hath complaind long vpon. For you haue well perswaded how it is a meane of grate desolation of this realme, and that is long of the great profit that men haue by pasture, ouer y they haue by tillage, y they turne so much to pasture. Now I woulde fayne heare how it might bee remedied againe: for I haue hearde thys matter of long time, & often reasoned vpon as well in Parliament, as in Countayles, yett small remedie found there, for that tooke effect.

Doctor.

If that I, after so many wise heades as were in those Parliaments and Countayles, would take vpon me to correct (as they say) Manikat, & to finde a remedie for this thinge, which they could neuer doe. I might bee reckened very arrogant.

Knight.

Tell your phantasie thetein, for though you misse of the right meane to refoyme that, it shall bee no more shame for you to doe so, then it was for so many wise men as yee speake of to misse.

Doctor.

You say truth, and since I speake nothing in this part, I would haue take as it were for a law or determined thing, but as a certayne motion for other wise men to consider, & to admit or reiect, as to their better reason shall seeme good: therefore as yee haue boldned me already w your patience to say thus farre, I will not spare to declare my minde in this

this: But that I might keepe my groundes, that I spake of, that is to say the effectuall cause of these inclosures, and then by taking away of the cause to redresse the thing.

I say y^e pollicy so, for to mee it seemes very reasonable that y^e saynt and agreeable to that I heard a good Physitian tell mee once when I was sicke of an Ague when I asked him why he gaue me purgations that made me yet weaker then I was, being weak enough already: saying, hee had more neede to giue me things that should make me stronger. Then he answered me that choller was the cause of my sickenes, and that hee gaue me those purgations to auoyde this humour, which being the cause of my disease, oueraken away, the sickenes should bee ridde from mee withall. And therefore I pray you vse your accustomed order in this matter and tell the cause of these Inclosures.

Knyght.

Sublata causa collitur effectus.

Now you before in our communication in the Court of the things that I thought to be the cause thereof, and partly the remedy of the same.

Doctor.

So did other men among vs tell theyr fantasie as then, but now we pray you tell, which of all those causes ye take for the necessary and efficient cause of this matter.

Knight.

As to tell you pray me it is avarice, I take for y^e principall cause thereof, but as we beaue y^e all couetousnes can be taken from men.

Doctor.

As, no more then we can make me to be without wealth, without gladnes, without feare, and without all affections: what then we must take away from men the occasion of theyr couetousnes, in this part: what is that: the exceeding laker that they see grow by these inclosures more then by theyr husbandry.

Howe Inclosures may be remedied.

And that may bee done by any of the two meanes: I will tell you: Either by the diminishing the laker that men haue by grasing: Or els by aduancing of the profit of husbandry till it bee as good, & as profitable to the occupiers as grasing is, for euery mā (as Plato saith) is naturally couetous of laker. And y^e wher in they se

Omnes sunt lucri cupidi.

most

A briefe Conceipte

most laker, they wil most gladly exercise: If thewed you be-
fore, that there is more laker by grasing of x. Acres to y^e oc-
cupier alone: than is in y^e tillage of xx. And y^e causes thereof,
be many, one is y^e grasing requires small charge & smal la-
bor, which in tillage cosumes much of y^e mē's gaine, though
it be true y^e the tillage of x. acres brings more gaine gene-
rally amongst the maister & all his mainy, then the grasing
of xx. acres. Another great cause is, that whatsoever thing
is reared vpon grasing, hath free vente both on this side and
also beyond the sea to be sold at the highest penny. It is co-
trary of all thinges reared by tillage, for it requires both
great charge of seruants & of labor. And also if any good
cheape be of corne, it payeth scant for the charg of y^e tillage.
And then if the market do arise either within y^e Realme or
without, the poore hul band shalbe so restrained frō selling
his corn, y^e he neuer after shal haue any ioy to set his plough
in the ground: which maketh euery man forsake tillage and
fall to grasing, which bringeth all these Inclosures.

Knight.

Doctor.

Now what remedy for that? Mary as for the first poynt, that is, touching the vnequal
charges of tillage and grasing, that cannot be holpen in al
pointes, by reason the nature of both reapes the contrary.
Therefore the latine tongue calles the one, that is pasture
pratum: that is asmuch to say, as paratū ready. But the
other thing might be remedied: that y^e husbandmā might
haue asmuch liberty at all times to sel his corne either with
in the Realme, or without, as the grasiers hath to sell his
which would make the hul bandmen more willing to occu-
py theyr plough. And other seeing them thrite would turn
theyr pasture to tyllage. And though it enhaunse the Mar-
ket for the time, yet woulde it cause much more tillage to
be vled, and consequently more corne: which in time of ple-
ty wythin this Realme, might byynge in much Treasure:
& in time of scarcety woulde suffice for y^e realme, as I shew-

ed you

Pratū quasi
paratum.

ed you before. And thus with laker they should bee entyled to occupy þ Plough, yea & with other priuiledges. I haue red þ in this realme sometime there was such a lawe as a man that had trespassed the law of misadventure moughte haue taken the Plough taylor for his sanctuary. Also þ occupation was had so honourable amonge the Romaines þ one was taken from holding the Plough to bee Consul in Rome, who after his yeate ended, thought no scorne to resort to þ same feate againe. What occupatiō is so necessary or so profitable for māns life as this is? Or what mystery is so void of al craft as the same is? & how little is it regarded? yea, how much is it despised? that many in these dayes reputes thē but as villaines, pelsaunts, or slaues, by whom þ proudest of thē haue their liuings. So þ I maruaile much there is any (seeing such a vility & contempt of þ thing) wil occupy the feat of husbandry at al. For as honour nourisheth al sciences, so dishonour must needes decay thē. And therfore if ye wil haue husbandry encreased ye must honoz & cherish it, þ is to let thē haue honest gaines therby, & since þ gaines shall come into your countrey why should you be offended therew. Another way is to abate the commodity of grasing as when any taxe is requisite to be graunted to þ Prince, if lands be chargeable thereto, to charge one aker of pasture as much as two of erable. Or els to burden wolles & fells, & such things as are reared by grasing, þ passe to þ partes beyond þ sea vnwrought, w double talage ouer any corne transported: and so by enhaunsing the profite of tyllage, and abasing of the profit of grasinge, I doubt not but Husbandrye would be more occupied and grasing much lesse. And thereby these inclosures to be broken vp. Also there is one thing of old time ordeined in this realme which being kept vnaltered would helpe hereunto also, that is where men are enter cōminers in þ cōmō fields, & also haue their porcions so entermedled one with another, that though they would they could not enclose any part of þ laide fields, so long as it is so.

But of late diuers men finding greater profite by grasing then by Husbandry, haue founde the meanes either to buy their neighbors partes round aboute them. Or els to exchange with them so many acres in this place, for so many in another: whereby they might bringe all their landes together, and so inclose it for the auoyding whereof, I thinke verely, that it was so of olde time ordeyned, that euery Tenant had his lande not all in one parcell of euery field, but enterlaced with his neighbors landes: so as here should be three acres, and then his neighbor should haue as many, & ouer that he other three or iiii. and so after the like rate be the most parts of the Copy holdes that I doe know in this Countrey, which I thinke good were still so continued for auoyding of the sayd Inclosures, and thus farre as to that matter.

Marchaunt.

Of Townes
decayed.

Now that yee haue well declared your opinion in these matters of the common dearch and Inclosures. I pray you tell vs your minde what should be the occasion of the decay of the good townes of this Realme, and of all bridges highways, and Hospitales, and how the same may be remedied and releued againe. For that these husbandmen & dwellers of the Countrey, finde not so great lacke in the fieldes abroad, but Citizens, and Burgeses finde as much wiche in their walles.

Doctor.

Since I haue begon to take vpon me to tell my phantasie in all these things: I will goe throug. In mine opinion, & good occupations heretofore bled in the sayd Townes, was occasion of theyr wealth in times past, & the laying downe of those occupations againe is the cause of the decay of the same townes. Wherefore if such occupations may be reuued agayne in the same, they would recover their former wealth agayne.

Marchaunt.

I beleue that well; that the decay of the occupations was the decay of these townes, but what I pray you, was

the occasion of such decay of the occupations.

I will tell you, while men were contented with such as were made in the market townes next unto them, the were they of our Townes and cities well set a worke, as I knew the time when men were contented with Cappes, Pattes, Gyrdels, and Poyntes, and all manner of Garments made in the townes next adioyninge, whereby the Townes were then well occupied and set a worke, and yet the money payd for the same stufte remaind in the countrey. Now, y^e poorer youngeman in a countrey cannot be content with a Leather girdle, or lether poyntes, Rynues, or Daggers made nigh home. And specially no Gentleman can be content to haue either Cappe, Cote, Doublet, Hose, or Shyrte in his countrey, but they must haue this geare come from London and yet many thinges hereof are not there made, but beyond the sea: whereby the artificers of our good townes are idle, and the occupations in London, and specially of the townes beyond the seas, are well set a worke euen vpon our costs. Therefore I woulde wishe some way were deuised for coming of so many trifles from beyond the Sea, and specially of such thinges as might be made here among our selues. Or els might be either all spared or els lesse used amonge vs, as these drinking and looking glasse, paynted clothes, perfummed gloues, daggers, kniues, pumes, poyntes, aglets, buttons, and a thousande other thinges of like sorte. As for silkes, wines, and spice, if there came lesse ouer it made no matter. But specially I would that nothing made of our commodities, as wolles, felles, and tinnen, such bee brought from beyond the sea to be solde here: but y^e all those shoulde be wrought within this realme. Were it not better for vs y^e our owne people were set a worke with such thinges then straungers. I am sure xx. thousand persons might bee set a worke within this realme, that are set a worke beyonde sea with those thinges that now be made beyonde the Sea, and might

Doctor.

The occasion
of the decay of
our Townes.

A brieffe Concept

might be made here: (might not the Prince be glad of any
ayde, whereby hee mighte finde *R. D.* persons through the
whole yeare, and burden his treasures with neuer a penny
thereof?) I thinke these things might be wrought here not
onely sufficient to set so many a worke and serue *h* realme,
but also to serue other parts: as all kinde of Cloth, & Ket-
teys: *Worstedes*, *Couerlets*, & *Carpets* of *Tapestry*: *Caps*,
knit *Sleeues*, *Hosen*, *Peticotes*, and *Hattes*: *Thin Paper*
both white and browne, parchment, *velam*, and all kinde of
Leather ware, as *gloues*, *poyntes*, *gyddles*, *skins* for *Jer-*
kins: and of time all maner of vessel, and also all kinde of
glasses, and earthen pots, *tennicke balles*, *cardes*, *Tables*, &
chesses, since we will needes haue such things: And *Dag-*
gers, *knives*, *hammers*, *sawes*, *chevels*, *axes*, & such thinges
made of *pyron*: might not wee bee ashamed to take all these
things at *straungers* hands: & set such a multitude of theyr
people a worke as I spake of now, whose finding & wages
we doe now beare? Where all this profit might bee saued
within the Realme, where it shoulde not goe from vs, but
returne to vs agayne from whence it came. And in setting
up of these occupations, I woulde haue them most prefer-
red and cherished, that bringeth most commodity and trea-
sure into the countrey: as yee must consider three sortes of
occupations: one that carrieth out the treasure, the second
sorte, that as it carrieth none forth of *h* countrey, so it bring-
geth none in, but that it getteth it spendeth in the countrey,
the third bringeth in treasure to the countrey. Of the firste
sorte are *Vintners*, *Dilleners*, *haberdashers*, these galley
men, *Percers*, *Fustian Sellers*, *Grocers*, & *Pothecaries*
that selleth vs any *Wares* made beyonde the Sea, for they
doe but exhaust the treasure of the Realme. Of the second
sorte are *Uctaylers*, *Inhoulders*, *Bouchers*, *Bakers*,
Brewers, *Caylors*, *Cordwinders*, *Sadlers*, *Carpen-*
ters, *Jopners*, *Hafons*, *Blacke Smythes*, *Turners*, and
Hoopers.

Hoopers: which like as they conney no money out of þe countrey, so they bringe none in. But where as they get it they spend it. Of the thyrd sort bee these, clothiers, cappers, woꝛstedmakers, Pewterers, Tanners whych bee all that we haue of any arte which I can now reckon, that bringes into the realme any treasure. Therefore these artes are to bee chearished, whereas they be vled, and where they be not they would be set by, and also other sciēces mo, as making of glasse, making of Swerdes, Daggers, Riuies, and all tooles of Iron and Steele, also making of pinnes, poyntes laces, thred, and all manner of paper, and parchinēt. I haue heard say that the chiefe trade of Couentry was heretofore in making of blewe threde, and then the towne was riche euen vpon that trade in maner onely, and now our thredde comes all from beyonde Sea. Therefore that trade of Couentry is decaied, and thereby the towne likewise. So Bristol had a great trade by making of pointes, and was the chiefe misterie that was exercised in the towne, and albeyt these bee but two of the lyghtest faculties that are, yet wer there two great townes chiefly mainteined by these two faculties aboue rehearsed. I heard say in Venice (that most floryshing cite at these daies of all Europe) if they may here of any cunning craftes man in any faculty, they wyll finde the means to allure him to dwell in their Citty, for it is a wonder to see what a deale of Money one good occupper doth bringe into a towne, though he himseife doth not gain to hys owne commodity but a poore lyving. As for Example, what Money one Woꝛstedmaker brings into þe towne where he dwelles, and how many hath livings vnder hym, & what wealth he brings to þe towne wher he dwels: truly I can not sufficiently declare, for by a few woꝛstedmakers þe some townes haue they are growen to a great wealth & riches. So of Clothyng and Cappyng. But where other cittyes do allure vnto them good workemen, ours will expell them.

That arte is to be most cheared in a towne that bringes most to the towne.

Townes are enriched with som one trade.

A brieffe Conceipte

them oute, as I haue knowen good woꝝken as well Smythes and Cleauers haue common from straunge parties to some Cittyes wythin this Realme. entending to set vp theyꝝ Craftes because they were not free there (but specially because they were better woꝝkemen then was any in the Towne) they could not be suffered to woꝝke ther. Such incorporations had those Pisserpes in those Townes that none mighte woꝝke there in theyꝝ facultye. excepte they did compounde wyth the first.

Capper.

Doctor.

And doe you thinke it reasonable that a straunger should bee as free in a Citty or Towne, as they that were Apprentices there: then no man would bee Apprentice to any occupation if it were so:

I sayd not that they shall haue commonly lyke Libertye or Fraunchise: but as one craft makes but one particuler compaignie of a Towne or Citty, so I would haue the weale of the whole Citty rather regarded, then the commoditie of Fraunchise of one craft or mistery. For though commonly none should be admitted there to woꝝke, but such as are firste whych by his good knowledge might both instructe them of the Towne being of the same facultye, and also by ynge in to the towne much commoditie besido. I woulde in that case haue private Libertyes and Priuileges geue place to a publique Weale, and such a man gladly admitted for his excellency to the Freedome of the same Towne, wythoute burdenyng of him wyth any charge for his firste entry or setting vp. Yea where a Towne is decayed and lackes Artificers to furnish the Towne with such craftes, as were either sometymes exercised well there or might bee, by reason of the situation and Commoditie of the same Towne, I would haue such craftes men allured oute of other Places where they bee plenty, to come to those Townes decayed to dwell, offering them theyꝝ Freedome, yea theyꝝ house rent free.

Free: or some stocke lent them of the common stocke of such townes, and whē the towne is wel furnished of such Artificers, then to stay the comming in of Forreners, but whyle þ towne lackes enhabitauntes of artificers It were no pollicy for the ressauration of the towne to keepe of any straunge artificers, for the most part of all townes are maynetyned by craftes men of all sortes, but specially by those that make any wares to sell out of the Countrey, and byngs therfore treasure into the same. As clothiers, cappers, woyled makers, Hatmakers, poyntmakers, pinners, Paynters, fotters, synthes of all sortes, cutlers, glouers, tanners, parch ment makers, gyzdors, pourfers, makers of Paper, thred makers, turners, basket makers, and many other such. As for the mercers, and haberdashers, vintners, and grocers, I cannot see what they doe to a towne, but fynde a lyuinge to b. or vi. householdes, and in steade thereof empouerish ten tymes as many, but since men wil needes haue silkes wine and spice it is as good that men do spend they. Money by such in theirowne towne, as to be dyuen to seeke the same further, as for þ rest of þ artificers, like as I said before euē as they take no money out of the Countrey so they bynge none in: as Taylours Shoemakers, Carpenters, Joyners, Tylers, Palons, Bouchers, vittaylers, & such like. Also an other thinge I reckon woulde helpe much to relpeue oure Townes decayed, if they woulde take order that al þ wares made there, shoulde haue a speciall Marke, and that marke to be set to none but to such as be truely wroughte, and also that euery Artificer dwelling out of all townes (such as can not for the commodity of theyr occupations, be broughte to any towne to enhabit, as Fullers, Tanners and Clothiers) shoulde bee lyMITTED to bee vnder the correction of one good Towne or other, and they to sell no ware but such as are fyrst approued and sealed by the Towne that they are lyMITTED vnto, And by these two meanes, that is to say, fyrst

A brieft Conceipte

by staying of wares wrought beyonde sea, which might bee wrought within vs, from comming in to be solde. Secondly by restraining of our wolles, tyme, selles, & other commodities from passing ouer vnwroughte. And thirdely by bynning in the countreies: making wares to be sold outward, & those wares to be viewed and sealed by the towne seale before they shoulde bee solde. I woulde thynke oure Townes myght soone bee restored to theyr auntyent Wealth or farre bettered if they would follow this,

Knight.

Now we pray you go to the last matter ye spake of, how these diuersity of oppynions may be taken away, which troubles the people very sore, and makes great sedition and diuision amonge them, and in maner makes debate betwene neighbour & Neighbour, the Father and hys Son, the mā and his Wyfe, which is yet more to bee feared, then all other the forsayd losses of worldly goods. For if wee were neuer so poore, and did neuer thelesse agree amonges our selues, wee should lycke our selues hoale againe in shorte space.

Doctor.

Wee say truth wyth con corde weake thynges doe encrease & ware big. And contrarywise with discorde strong thynges ware weake. And it must needes bee true that truth it selfe sayth. Euery kingdome deuyded in it selfe shal bee desolate. Wherefore I cannot forbear to shew you my poore opinion, how so great a mischiese as this is, may be auoided out of this our common Weale: & still I wyll vse one Trade, as in seeking out the originall cause, and by takynge awaye of that, to shewe the remedye. I take the chiefe cause hereof as wel the sinnes of thē that be the ministers of Chrysts holy word and misteries, as of yon that bee the flocke. And firste of ours that haue swarued altogether, frō theyr due course order and profession to all kind of Licentiousnes, not only to the

**Concordia
quę res
crescunt
discordia
maximę di-
labantur**

the basenes of lay men, but farre inferiour to them in pride
conetousnes, and such. Wherefore yee lay men seeing in vs
no excellency in our maners in deede, thinke vs unworthye
to bee your Leaders and Pastors, or to whose doctryne yee
shoulde giue credence, whome yee see in luying farre discre-
pant from the same. And therefore ye take vpon you y^e iudg-
ment of spiritual things, to whom it doth not appertain.
As one inconuenience draweth euer another after him, for
so long as the ministers of the church wer of those maners
& conuersation agreeable with theyr doctryne: So long all
men, yea the greatest Prynces of the worlde and the wylest
mē wer content to beleue our doctryne, & to obey vs in things
concerning y^e soule: & since we sel frō the perfection of lyte,
we grew out of credit, & y^e holy doctryne of Chyyst suffered
flaunder by our sinful liuing. So we haue giuen the hysle
occasion of this euil, & yee haue taken it as instrumente to
worke this scyline withal. And though both do euil therein,
yet the remedy ought to begin at the roote of this mischief,
which I take to bee in the ministers and pastors spiritual.
And to bee playne with you and no more to dissemble oure
owne faultes, then I haue done yours, except wee reforme
our selues fyrst. I can haue no great truste to see this gene-
rall scyline and deuision in religion vterly taken away: it
may percase, wth authority be for a time appeased, but ne-
uer so as it spryngge not v^p againe, excepte wee reforme our
selues fyrst.

The occasiō of
the scyline in
matters of reli-
gion.

¶ Mary and I thinke yee haue bene well disciplined & cor-
rected already, so as yee had good cause to bee reformed as
by taking much of your possessions from you, and in burde-
ning of your benefices with subsidies, as well annual as pro-
portional, and other wayes. ¶ What other reformation
would yee haue more;

Knight.

¶ Wea no doubt we haue had beating inough if that
would haue serued, but some maisters wth litle beating will

Doctor

A brieft Conceipte

teach theyr schollers better, the other wth more stryppes ca-
do, and agayne some schollers wyl be reformed with lesse
beating then other. So you and we do now, you in beating
inough but litle teaching, and wee agayne litle regarding
the stryppes do learne as litle. For notwithstanding these pu-
nishments that we haue had, the reproaches and reuylinge
and opening of our faultes, see how many of vs haue refoz-
med our selues, yea so much as in our outwarde duties,
whereunto we are bound both by Gods Lawe, and our can-
ons, lawes, and decrees: how many moe of vs haue refoz-
ted to our benefices to be resident thereon, which not onely
by the said lawes, but also vpon greate penalties wee are
bound vnto by the lawes of this Realme: how many lesse
now then before haue studeyd to heape Benefice vpon Be-
nefice, when wee bee skante able to discharge one of them:
what better triall or examination is there nowe in admyt-
tyng of mynisters of the church: What more exacte search
is made by our Bishops, for worthy men to bee admitted to
the cure of soules: What better execution of our canons,
and decrees doh our Bishoppes, Deanes, and Archdea-
cons in theyr visitations now, then they dyd before: Wea-
what better hospitality residence, or ministracion eyther of
the word or of their other duties doe our Prelates and Bi-
shops now then they did before: doe they not lurke in their
mansions & manour places far from theyr Cathedral chur-
ches as they were wont, and skant ones a yere wil see their
pryncipall church, where they ought to be continually resi-
dent: be they not in a manner as vniueerte for preaching the
word of God as euer they were, for all these plagues that
God sendes to them: but they are so blynded that they can-
not see wherefore they be thus punished & construe it to be
for other causes, as by the couetousnes of lay men in des-
pyring theyr Possessions, by a hatred conceyued agaynst
them for not obeyning theyr purpose at men of the Church
ches

thes hand. Or for that they cannot abyde the correction of
the church, or such other causes as they imagine wth the
selues: And thinke that the indignation against them shortly
will slacke of it selfe. But I pray God it doth not rather
encrease, as I feare me it wil, except wee amend vs the ra-
ther. How can men be content to pay $\frac{1}{10}$ tenth of theyr goods
which they get wth theyr soze labour and sweate of theyr
browes, when they cannot haue for it agayne neither ghost-
ly comforte nor bodely: what lay man wil be any thing scru-
pelous to keepe those tythes in his owne handes, when hee
sees vs do nothing more then he for it: What credite wyl
any man giue to our doctryne, whom they see so lyghte in
lyuing: what reuerence will they giue our personnes in
whose maners they see no grauity: But to passe from these
matters to others. There be most godly ordinaunces made
by our lawes by authority of Countayles generally, that
all Archdeacons shoulde visite in person yerelely theyr pre-
cinctes. The Bishop euerie three yerres to see $\frac{1}{2}$ whole Dio-
cesse what is to bee reformed eyther priuately or general-
ly, that priuate faultes might be reformed forthwth: and
the Generall at the nexte Synode, and therefore they haue
theyr procurations. Upsite they doe not in person as they
ought to doe, but by deputies, more for theyr procurations,
then for any reformation. The Money is surely gathered,
but the cause wherefore it was geuen nothinge kept: the sti-
pend is exacted, and the worke wherefore it was due, vndo.
Then is there another good ordinaunce, and godly absolued
after the lyke sorte: where euerie bishop shoulde yerelely keepe
a synode in his dioces of all euangelicall persons, and euerie
archbishop a synod for his whole prouince, euerie thyrde yerre
that if any thing occurred in the diocesse worthe reformati-
on it might be referred to the prouinciall congregation. If
it were either doubtfull to the byshop or could not be refo-
rmed without greater authority then the Bishoppes alone.

¶ Thereby

A brieue Conceipte

Where be these synodes now kept: yet they receive euery
 yere their synodals of y^e poore priests. If such good ordenā-
 ce & Godly, there is nothing kept, but y^e which is their own
 private comodity: which be y^e procuratiōs & synodals, y^e other
 part whereof y^e charge was laid is omitted, y^e burde remain-
 eth, & the duty is take away, yet better it were y^e both y^e one
 & y^e other were taken away, then to haue the good part take
 & the worse to remaine. If they will say, that there needeth
 now a daies no such visitation, nor synods, then there need-
 eth neither none of them, for moe things to bee reformed a-
 monge vs, were neuer then be now, nor reformation neuer
 moze necessary. But our prelats would say they dare make
 no lawes in such synodes for feare of penyry, what neede a-
 ny mo lawes made then they haue already: What shoulde
 let the to put these in execution that be already made: Specti-
 ally sins they haue the ayde of the temporall lawes thereto,
 is there not statutes made in parliament for residence, and
 for restraining of pluralitie of benefices: which had neuer
 neede to haue bene made, if we would haue put our lawes
 in execution. Are not we worthy to haue other men to cor-
 recte and reforme vs, when we cannot reform our selues:
 Is it maruayle that wee bee not out of credence when our
 lyfe and conuersation is contrary to oure owne lawes and
 profession, & that the religion of Christ suffereth slander,
 offence & reproch, throught our defaults which shal be ones
 required of our hands. Therefore if we wil haue this scisme
 take away fro christis church, let vs first reforme our selues
 & put our lawes in execution: as in resorting to our benefices
 to keepe residence, and in contenting our selues wth one
 Benefice a piece: And wth the luyng that is appoynted
 to vs for our ministratiō without deuising of other extra-
 ordinary & unlawfull gaires. For what is moze agreeable
 wth reason, then a man to spende his tyme where he hath
 his liuing and to do his office, for that he hath the benefite of.

And

And seeing every benefice is a mans living, and if it be not
it might be amended, till it be a competent living: and eue- Propter of-
ry one requireth one mans whole charge. What reason is fitium da-
it that one man should haue two mens livings & two mens tur benefi-
charge, where he is able to discharge but one. The to haue cium.
moe & discharge the cure of neuer a one is to farre against
reason. But some percase will say, there be some of vs wor-
thy a greater preferment then other, & one benefice were to
little for such a one. Is there not as many degrees, in the va-
riety of Benefices, as there is in mens qualities? Yes for-
sooth there is yet in this realme (thanked be God) benefices
from 9. markes to 11. markes a yeare of sundry values
to endow euery man with, after his qualities and degree.
And if a meane benefice happen to fall let euery man be co-
tented therewith till a better fall. And if hee be thought wor-
thy of a better, let him leaue the firste and take y better: for
the meanest Benefice is a sufficient livinge for some man,
which should be destitute of a living, if that benefice and o-
ther like should be heaped vp together in great menshads.
Yea, I doe knowe, y men which haue such meane benefices
be more commonly resident, and keepe better hospitality or
the same, then they that haue greater benefices. It is a co-
mon prouerbe. Its merry in Hall: When Beards wagg-
all. Nowe looke through a whole Diocesse, you shall not
finde 11. persons residents that may dispend xl. l. a piece,
nor of al the benefices in a Diocesse, the fourth person resi-
dent ouer the same. What temperal office is so far abused
as these be that be spirituall and of greater charge: I pray
God send our Prelats Eyes to see these Enormities: for it
shoulde seeme that they are so blinded that they cannot see
them. And then I doubt not but all delayes let a part they
will reforme them: and if they do not, I pray God sende our
Maiestrats temperall the minde to reforme these thinges
with their secular power. And to study for the reformation
of them.

A brieue Conceipte

of them; rather then for theyr Possessions. Christian Princes
 beare not their swords in bayne: nor yet is it so straunge
 a thing to see Christian princes reforme the Prelates that
 swarne from their duties. Thus far best spoken touching
 the reformation of them þe ministers of þe Church. Now
 to speake of þis to be reformed of our parte that bee of the
 laytye, yee must understande; that all þe geue the selues to þe
 knowledge of any faculty, are commonly subiecte to eyther
 of two vices (as that great clarke Tully doth report) þe one
 is to take these things þe we know not for thinges knowne,
 or as though we knewe them: for a boyding of which faulte
 men ought to take both good space and great diligence in
 consideration of thinges, ere they come to giue iudgement
 of the same: the other vice to bestowe too great a study and
 labour about obscure and hard thinges nothing necessary.
 Let vs now consider and those faults be not anonge you at
 these dayes; yee be all now studious to know the understan-
 ding of holy scripture. And well for there can bee no better
 desire, more honest, nor more necessary for any christia mā;
 but yet doe yee not see many younge men before they haue
 eyther taken any longe time, or any good diligence in the
 consideration or study of scripture, take vpon them to iudge
 of high matters being in controuersie; geunte to quicke
 assent eyther to their owne inuention, or to other mens be-
 fore they haue considered what might be sayde to the contra-
 ry. And this faulte is not onely seene in men studious of the
 knowledge of scripture, but also in younge studentes of all
 other sciences: shall yee not finde a student in the lawe of the
 realme, after he hath bene at the study of þe lawe not past iii.
 yeares, more ready to assyle you a doubtfull cause of the
 lawe, then either he himselfe or another, after þe he hath stu-
 died the lawe xii. or xiiii. yeares: Wea no doubt: so it is in a
 younge Gramarian, Logician, Rethoritian, & so of al other
 sciences. Therefore Pythagoras forbade his Schollers to
 speake

Cicero de
 offi. Lib. 1.

The faultes in
 the part of the
 Layty.

Speake the firste v. yeares y they came to him, whych lesson
 I would to God yee would be content to obserue, before yee
 gaue any iudgement in matters of holy scripture. And then
 Doubt not, but after vii. yeares reading, yee would by col-
 lation of one place with another of scripture, finde a grea-
 ter difficulty therein, then yee doe nowe, & bee more scripu-
 louse to geue an answer in high things then yee bee now:
 and this harme cometh of rash iudgement in y parthe, that
 when a man hath once vttered his opinion an any thing, hee
 will thinke a greate shame for him to be broughte fro that
 he hath once affirmed for truth. Therefore whatsoeuer hee
 readeth after, he construeth for the mayntenance of hys o-
 pyinion, yea and will force that side not only with his words
 and perswasions, but also with that powre and authoritie y
 he hath; and will labour to bring other to the same opynion
 as many as he can: as though his Opynion shoulde bee the
 more true, the mo fauourers y he may get of the same. By
 such meanes if wee seeke but for the truth, that is not to be
 iudged to be alwaies on the best side y getteth the ouer hand
 by power, authoritie, or Suffrages extorted: it is not lyke
 in the disceptation, & inquisition of the truth, as it is in a
 fight or a wrestling: for he that hath the ouer hand in these
 thinges hath the victorie, and in the other hee that is some-
 times put to silence, or otherwise vanquished in the sighte
 of the worlde, hath the victorie and conquest of truth, on his
 side. Synce we contend but for the knowledge of the truth
 what shoulde wee deuide ourselues into factions and par-
 ties: but let the matter bee quietly discuffed, tryed, & exa-
 mined, by men to whome the iudgement of such things ap-
 pertayneth. And prouide in the meane time that neyther
 party do vse any violence agayne the other, to bynge them
 by force to this or that side, vntill the whole or most part of
 the to whom y discuscion of such things appertayneth vnto,
 be free.

As Consta-
 tyme the
 great, did in
 the time of
 Arius.

Or, if the same be free.

A brieft Conceipte

doe freely consente and determyne the matter. That is the onely way to descide such controuerfies, and since thys contention must once haue an ende: it were better take an end betimes then to late, when percase more harme shall haue ensued of this daungerous Scisme, as hath already done in other parties euen before our Eyes. And in lyke things hath before this time bene seene, of such sort as it is too lamentable to bee remembred: what losse of Christian men: what diminishyng of Christian sayth: What contriuall warres, hath the Faction of the Arrians bene the occasion of: Did it not seporate and seuer at length all Asia, & Africke from the Chypstian sayth: Is not the Religion, or rather the wycked superstition of the Turke grafted ouer this Arrian Sect: dyd it not take hys foundation therof: As there is no dynisyng more daungerous, then that which groweth of matters in Religion: so it were most expedient and necessary to bee quickly remedied, which cannot bee done by any other way then by a free and generall counsel, that hath bene alwayes from the tyme of the Apostles who first tooke that remedy euen in theyr dayes, the onely way to quiet and appease all controuerfies in religion. And no doubt the holy Ghost as hys promise is, wil be present in euery such assembly, that is gathered together by no force or labor of any affection. But now wee will say (though wee would for our parties set a side partiality, and be indifferent and vse no coercion to get numbers and voices that should fauour our parties) who can promyse that the Bishoppes of Rome and other Prelates would doe y same. Surely if pee did say so, yee sayd a great matter, for they be men & much more subiect to affections, then yee be. But I shalbe bound after my manner to tell my minde herein, aswel as in other thinges. I take all these matters that be now a daies in controuerfies to be of one of these sortes, that is either touching the p[ro]p[ri]etes and emolumentes of the Prelates & mynisters of the

How this
scisme might
be remedied.

of the church or touching poyntes of religion. As touching those articles that concerne religion, I would wish that they had onely the discusion thereof, which oughte and haue vsed alwayes to haue the iudgment of the same. And as touching the articles that concerne the profites of Ecclesiasticall persons, I would haue these left to the discusion of the secular powers, because it concerneth secular thinges onely where no man needes mistrust: But that the Magistrates will provide an honorable liuing for that kinde of men that scrue to honourable a rounge, as the ministratio of Gods holy word & his Sacraments. Furthermore I would wish in thinges touching the bishop of Rome & his iurisdiction, he should be set a part, & some other indifferēt persons chosen by chrystian Princes to direct or bee Presidents in the Counsaile whyle his matter is in handling, (if it please Chrystian Princes to holde a counsaile with that Whore of Babylon) for no man is meete to be a iudge in his owne cause. Here I haue but bryefly touched the summs of thinges after my simple phantasie, referring the allowing or reiecting of all or some of them to your better iudgement.

The bishop of Rome is no indifferent man.

I am sorry that it is so late that we must needs departe nowe.

And so bee wee in good sayth: but wee trust ere you departe the towne to haue some communication with you a gayne.

Marchaunt,
Husband,
Capper.

I will bee glad if I tarry in the towne. But as yet truly I know not whether I shall remaine here beyonde tomorrow morning, which if I do (in any thinge by my simple iudgement will reache vnto you) you shal heare my farther oppynion: in the meane time I pray you soo to thinke of mee as of one, that if I haue spoken any thinge whych may bee prejudiciall to the common weale any way, I am ready to reuoke it, and to yeelde to the iudgement of any other mā, that can shew how all these griefes of the more parte of the

Doctor.

may be remedied by any other better means, for I knowe
of many a thousande in this Lande; I may wyllyngly speake in
such a wayghty matter. And so heere for this presente I
take my leaue of you all.

And thus wee departed for that time: but on the mor-
row when I knewe maister Doctor was gone out of the
towne, I thought not meete this communication shoulde bee
lost, but remembered at y^e least in mine owne priuate booke,
to the intent as opportunity shoulde serue, I mighte bringe
forth some of his Reasons in places where they mighte
neither take place, or be answered otherwise then I
coule. And therefore I haue noted the sayde
communication briefly of this sort
as you see.

FINIS.

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